

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Survey party are at this moment actively engaged in preparing for their departure. It has been decided to dispatch Lieutenant Kitchener, who assumes the command, to Damascus, where he will buy horses and provide for the starting of the party. Everything ready, he will repair to Haifa *via* Beyrout and the coast road, there to await the arrival of his staff, who will probably reach Palestine early in February, and will consist of Sergeant Armstrong, who has been in the Survey from the commencement; Sergeant Malings, who was with Major Wilson on the Survey of Sinai; Corporal Brophy, who was with Lieut. Conder in 1873—1875; and one other non-commissioned officer of Royal Engineers.

Meantime, Lieut. Conder remains in England engaged in the preparation of the memoirs to accompany the sheets of the map. A great deal of work has already been done towards the reduction to order of his voluminous notes; but a great deal remains. The map will be safely locked up until the Survey is completed, and the difficulties which have arisen in the laying down of the work have been settled by a revision on the field.

Consul-General Eldridge reports from Beyrout that the country is quiet. Two of the men engaged in the Safed attack were still in prison when he wrote (Nov. 30). The sum of £270 has been forwarded to England out of the £340 granted for fines and damages levied on the Safed people, and there can be no doubt that the moral effect of this firmness will be excellent. The £200 claimed for compensation has not yet been allowed.

The Survey of Galilee, including the levelling for the depth of the Lake below the surface of the sea, for which a grant of £100 was made by the British Association two years ago, is calculated to take until the middle of August. Lieutenant Kitchener proposes then to finish off the two hundred and fifty square miles at the south-west of Palestine yet remaining to be surveyed; and, this done, will then ride through the country to clear up various points of difficulty which have arisen during the execution of the map from the notes.

Such is the programme for the year 1877. If it is carried out successfully, the Committee will be, at its close, in possession of a complete map of Western Palestine, on the scale of one inch to a mile, with every town, village, ruin, tell, wady, hill, and plantation marked upon it, and every name which our officers have been able to collect.

The cost of this expedition, including the office expenses, printing, postage, &c., will amount to over £320 a month. The income of the Fund, which was, roughly, £4,200 in 1875, fell to £3,800 in 1876, in consequence of no special effort having been made beyond the ordinary machinery of reminding subscribers and holding occasional lectures. The latter amount, which may fairly be assumed as an average income, seems to promise to the Committee a sufficient guarantee that means will be found to carry on their work even on this large scale of expenditure. *It is, however, very earnestly requested that subscriptions may this year be paid as early as is convenient, so that the Committee may be free to act.*

The financial position on Jan. 4, 1877, was as follows. Income, Sept. 28, 1876, to Jan. 4, 1877, £1,146 2s. 9d., and the balance in the bank on the latter day was £538 0s. 10d. Opportunity has been taken of the lessened expenditure during the year to pay off nearly all the debts, as will be shown in April by the balance-sheet of the year.

We have to announce with great pleasure that the offer made by Dr. Nathaniel Rogers, of Exeter, to subscribe £50 towards the complete clearing out of Jacob's Well, has been seconded by a promise from Miss Peache, of Wimbledon, to give the remaining £50 required for the work. Miss Peache also offers to give £50 more for the purpose of surrounding and protecting the well with proper stonework. The Committee have accepted this proposal of Miss Peache, and desire to

record here their grateful sense of this munificence. A design for the stone-work will be contributed by Mr. J. D. Crace.

At least three cases have come to the knowledge of the Secretary during the year of letters containing stamps being purloined or lost on their way to the office. It is extremely difficult, even next to impossible, to trace the theft home in such a case, and the only way to avoid its recurrence is to send subscriptions by cheque or P.O.O., *in every case payable to the order of Walter Besant, and crossed to Coutts and Co. or the Union Bank of London.*

The ninth thousand of "Our Work in Palestine" is now in the press, and will be ready by the end of the month. It contains a full account of the work done, the results obtained, and the reasons for undertaking the work, down to the commencement of the Survey. It does not contain any of M. Ganneau's archaeological work, or any account, except a few brief notes, of the Survey. A special work will probably be issued eventually, containing popular narratives of these explorations.

The literary remains of the late Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake will be published early in the year by Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street. They will be edited, with a memoir, by Mr. Walter Besant, and will contain, among other papers, his pamphlet on Modern Jerusalem, his Report on the Natural History of the Desert of the Exodus, materials towards a new Historical and Archæological Guide to Palestine, Natural History Notes, Notes on Travel, &c., chiefly unpublished. His letters and reports which have appeared in the *Quarterly Statements* of the Fund will not be reproduced in the volume.

The Bishop of Adelaide has informed the Committee that he has established a Local Committee for the furtherance of the Society's objects in his diocese. Among the members are at present—

The Hon. J. J. Way, Chief Justice ;
The Hon. G. W. Guy, Surveyor-General ;
C. Todd, Esq., Telegraph and Postmaster-General ;
Lieutenant-Colonel Barber ;
J. C. Muir, Esq., Engineer-in-Chief ;

and J. Hyndman, Esq., Hon. Secretary.

The following are at present the Diocesan Representatives of the Society :—

Archdeaconry of Hereford : Rev. J. S. Stooke-Vaughan, Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury.

City and neighbourhood of Manchester : Rev. W. F. Birch, St. Saviour's Rectory.

London : Rev. Henry Geary, 16, Somerset Street, Portman Square.

Norwich : Rev. F. C. Long, Stowupland, Stowmarket.

Peterborough : Rev. A. F. Foster, Farndish Rectory, Wellingborough.

Worcester : Rev. F. W. Holland, Evesham (Member of General and Executive Committee, and one of the Hon. Secretaries to the Fund).

Dioceses of Canterbury, Rochester, and Winchester : Rev. R. J. Griffiths, 10, Trafalgar Road, Old Kent Road, S.E.

Diocese of Ripon : Rev. T. C. Henley, Kirkby Malham Vicarage.

IRELAND.

Rev. G. J. Stokes, Blackrock, Dublin.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications by officers of the Fund, the Committee beg it to be distinctly understood that they leave such proposals to be discussed on their own merits, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee do not sanction or adopt them.

Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year when due, at their *earliest convenience*, and without waiting for application. It is best to cross all cheques and post-office orders to Coutts and Co.

The Committee are always glad to receive old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which are advertised as out of print. That for January, 1872, is especially wanted.

Ladies desirous of joining the Ladies' Associations are requested to communicate with Mrs. Finn, The Elms, Brook Green, London, W. The full report of meetings held by Mrs. Finn during the last quarter will be found in the business sheet.

Cases for binding the *Quarterly Statement* are now ready, and can be had on application to Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street. They are in green or brown cloth, with the stamp of the Society, uniform in appearance with "Our Work in Palestine," and are sold at the price of one shilling.

Lieut. Kitchener's Guinea Book of Biblical Photographs is now ready, and can be bought at Mr. Stanford's establishment, 55, Charing Cross. It contains twelve views, with a short account of each. They are mounted on tinted boards, and handsomely bound.

GRANT OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

The following is the Report of the Committee, consisting of Major Wilson, R.E., and Mr. Ravenstein, appointed for the purpose of furthering the Palestine Explorations :—

The sum of £100, granted at the last meeting of the British Association for the purpose of furthering the Palestine explorations, was paid over by Major Wilson to the Palestine Exploration Fund, with a request that the wishes of the General Committee of the Association, as expressed in their resolution, might be carried out.

No complete account of the work of the last twelve months has yet been received from Lieutenant Conder, R.E., the officer in charge of the Survey ; but from his monthly reports to the Committee of the Fund, it would appear that, since the grant of £100 was made, the triangulation of Palestine has been carried southwards as far as Beersheba, and that a large tract of interesting country, including the plain of Philistia and the southern slopes of the mountains of Judah, has been surveyed and plotted on a scale of one inch to a mile.

Amongst other results have been the recovery of several ancient sites, and the corrections of many errors in the topography of Southern Palestine.

Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener, R.E., were recently engaged in running a line of levels from the Mediterranean to the Sea of Galilee ; but this work was unfortunately stopped by the attack made upon Lieutenant Conder and his party by the people of Safed.

Lieutenant Conder, who was badly wounded, has been unable to send a full report on the levelling ; but in a letter written shortly before the affray he mentioned that more than ten miles, or about one third of the levelling, had been completed, and gave some details of the manner in which the work was being carried out. The line of levels was being run by two independent observers (non-commissioned officers from the Ordnance Survey) ; bench-marks were being cut at frequent intervals, and their position fixed by a line of traverse survey

from the Mediterranean to the Sea of Galilee, which will be laid down on the one-inch survey.

Lieutenant-General Sir Henry James, the Director-General of the Ordnance Survey, was kind enough to lend instruments for the work, and he has taken much interest in its progress.

In consequence of the attack on the Survey party and the spread of cholera, it has been decided to withdraw Lieutenant Conder and his staff from Palestine for the present; but as soon as the Survey is recommenced the levelling will be completed.

ITINERARIES OF OUR LORD.

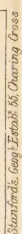
IN the history of our Lord's life and labours no subject is of deeper interest (apart from the purely sacred aspect of His work) than the itineraries. Yet no special and continuous study has been given to this important subject. Every one who writes about the Sacred Story has, of course, to mention His various journeys, and to mention that He went up to Jerusalem for the great feasts and returned to His home in Galilee. Certain points in these journeys are, of course, fixed points. Our Lord is at Bethlehem, at Nazareth, at Jerusalem, at Jericho, at Sychar, at Cana, at Capernaum, at Bethany, and so forth. But the roads by which He travelled from place to place have not been scientifically laid down. We are not certain, as yet, by which road He came up from the Jordan valley to Jerusalem. There was a great military highway from Jericho to Jerusalem by way of Bethany. This was probably the road usually followed by the Teacher and His disciples. But there was another road by way of Wady Farah—a less frequented road. It is probable that road passed by Ænon, the place where John baptized. If it can be proved, as I think it can, that Ænon lay on or near this second road from Jericho to Jerusalem, we shall have a fixed point in this part of our Lord's journeyings.

The whole subject invites evidence and discussion, and the attention of special students of New Testament archæology cannot be too seriously called to it. I shall be glad to see the matter taken up and elucidated by our subscribers and correspondents in the next and following *Quarterly Statements*.

W. HEPWORTH DIXON.



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RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT JERUSALEM, BY HERR C. SCHICK, K. K. BAURATH.

I HAVE, on more than one occasion, drawn attention to the good work which my friend Mr. Schick is doing in a quiet way at Jerusalem, by ascertaining the actual level of the original rock surface whenever it is exposed, and I have now much pleasure in communicating a short note on an excavation recently made by him which will be of interest to those who make a study of Jerusalem topography.

It appears that some time last year, the ground, at a point a little east of the bazaars, suddenly gave way, carrying with it a fig-tree and several bushes of cactus, and leaving a large crater or depression in the surface. For some months occasional earth-slips took place, and it became evident that the *débris* was finding its way into one or more subterranean chambers; the ground was at the time considered too dangerous for examination, but last summer Mr. Schick was requested by the Pacha to investigate the whole matter. It soon appeared that the earth had been running away into a great chamber over 100ft. long and 17ft. 6in. wide, and that the cause of the slip had been the sudden fall of a portion of the covering arch. The interesting point is, that in the floor of the chamber, which is entirely of rock, we have presented to view a larger area of the original surface of the ground on which Jerusalem stands than has hitherto been exposed within the city walls. We have, too, not only the depth of rubbish at a point near which there were few previous rock levels, but the actual fall of the rock over a distance of 100ft. in a north and south direction, or combined with the known level of the rock in the street to the north, a section over more than 200ft.

I was hardly prepared for the great accumulation of rubbish, 80ft., at this particular place, or for the rapid fall in the rock, 1 in 4, towards the south, which seems to indicate that the valley running eastward from near the Jaffa Gate is deeper than has generally been supposed, and that it may perhaps partake of the ravine nature of the valley examined by Captain Warren under Robinson's Arch. The section from east to west, though only 17ft. 6in. long, is of value as showing a steady fall of the rock towards the east, and thus indicating that the axis of the spur between the valleys from the Jaffa and Damascus Gates has been passed.

Mr. Schick's investigation has also proved that the bazaar called on the Ordnance Map of Jerusalem, $\frac{1}{2500}$ scale, Suk-al-Khowajat, formerly extended as far north as the other two bazaars, and has brought more prominently to notice the great depth of rubbish on which all the bazaars stand.

The long cistern or chamber is parallel to the bazaars, and as it was evidently not originally intended to be used as a cistern, we may perhaps have in it the line of one of the streets of ancient Jerusalem. The

chamber, at any rate, offers a favourable base of operations for an exploration of this part of the city, as galleries could be driven in several directions to examine the ground.

I take this opportunity of pointing out the great importance of collecting and registering in a methodical manner the levels of the rock exposed from time to time at Jerusalem, as it is only by obtaining a correct idea of the topographical features of the ancient city that we can hope to understand Josephus. Mr. Schick has published amongst Zimmermann's maps of ancient Jerusalem a map showing the original features of the ground, and coming from such an authority it is of considerable interest; but we have, unfortunately, none of the data used in its construction. There are still places at Jerusalem where it is impossible to say what the rubbish conceals, and any map showing, by contours, the natural features of the ground, must for the present be considered premature, or at most suggestive. How much is still left to the imagination of the draughtsman may be inferred from the fact that on a line joining the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with the Dome of the Rock, a most important part of the city, there is not a single rock level. It is to be hoped that some day Mr. Schick may find time to prepare a table of rock levels for publication, for since Capt. Warren left the city our knowledge of underground Jerusalem is almost entirely due to him, the excavations of M. Ganneau and Mr. Maudslay being, I think, the only exceptions.

December 5th, 1876.

C. W. W.

THE SITES OF TARICHEÆ AND BETHSAIDA.

A CONVERSATION with M. Ganneau some time ago relative to the positions of Taricheæ and Bethsaida, two important places on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, led me again to examine the question of their respective sites, and to modify considerably the opinion expressed in the "Recovery of Jerusalem" with regard to that of the former place. Lieut. Conder's approaching return to Palestine offers a favourable opportunity for examining these questions on the ground, and the following notes may draw his attention to certain points which might otherwise escape notice.

Taricheæ.—In 1866 I too hastily assumed that Dr. Robinson and other distinguished travellers were right in identifying Taricheæ with Kerak, the mound covered with shapeless ruins which occupies such an important strategical position at the point where the Jordan leaves the lake, but a careful perusal of Josephus leaves no doubt in my mind that Taricheæ was north and not south of Tiberias. Taricheæ appears to have been a place of considerable importance, and to have played a conspicuous part in the Roman campaign against the Jews in Galilee, as well as in the troubled times which preceded it; the description of its capture by the Romans, and of the great naval engagement on the Lake

which followed, is amongst the most graphic and interesting passages of Josephus, and to this I must refer the reader for fuller detail than space will now allow. The description is contained in B. J. iii. 9. 7, 8, and 10. 1, and there are other passages in the Life.

To summarise briefly, Vespasian, whilst enjoying the hospitality of Agrippa at Cæsarea Philippi (Baniās), determines to make an expedition against the two cities Tiberias and Taricheæ, and sends Titus to bring up troops from the maritime Cæsarea to Scythopolis (Beisan), the largest city of Decapolis, situated in the Jordan Valley a few miles south of the Sea of Galilee. Vespasian proceeds to Scythopolis and, on the arrival of Titus, marches against Tiberias with three legions, and pitches his camp at a place called Sennabris* in full view of the city and thirty stadia (three and three-quarter miles) from it. A decurion, Valerian, with fifty horsemen is sent forward to hold a parley with the peace party in the city, but being treacherously attacked whilst on foot, he is obliged to retire; upon this the chief men of the city, fearing Vespasian's wrath, fly to the Roman camp and offer their submission, whilst the members of the war party who had attacked Valerian deem it prudent to run away to Taricheæ. The next day Trajan is sent forward to secure the citadel, and the gates are thrown open to the Roman army, but as it "was a great while in getting in at the gates, they were so narrow, Vespasian commanded the south wall to be broken down, and so made a broad passage for their entrance."

After the capture of Tiberias, Vespasian pitches his camp between that city and Taricheæ, and fortifies it strongly, "suspecting that he should be obliged to stay there and have a long war;" the soldiers were,

* M. Ganneau, in his paper on Hippos, adds an interesting note on the subject of Sennabris, from which it appears that during a skirmish between Baldwin and the Saracens the latter were camped near a place called El-fakkharin in the Jordan Valley, whilst the former were at Sinnabra, near the Jordan, opposite the ascent of Fik, and three miles from Tiberias; there was also a bridge of Sinnabra which played an important part in the fight. Josephus, B. J. iv. 8. 2, says Gennabrin (Sennabris) was a village at the commencement of the Ghor or Great Plain; Schwarz mentions a ruin called *Sinabri*, and in Baedeker's Guide I find Sennabris (Es Sinnabra) identified with Kerak. There is no difficulty in identifying the ruins of the old bridge which connected Kerak with the eastern bank of Jordan with the bridge of Sinnabra of the fight; but Kerak itself does not answer to the Sennabris of Josephus, as it is too far from Tiberias, and is not visible from that place. There are, however, some inconsiderable ruins, such as would be left by a village, situated on the slope of the hills which run down to the lake south of Tiberias, within full view of the ruins of the old town, and exactly at the required distance, $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles, from them. Here, where there is space for Vespasian's camp, and where the level ground in the Jordan Valley commences, was probably Sennabris, and it is not unlikely that the name, after lingering to the middle ages, may still be known to the fellahin of Semakh or the Ard el Huma. Whether the form Gennabrin given by Josephus, like Gennesareth, may retain traces of the old name Chinnereth, is a question for consideration.

however, attacked whilst forming the camp, and it appears never to have been completed.

We here have Vespasian advancing northwards from Seythopolis to Tiberias, entering the latter city over its *south* wall, and passing on to camp between Tiberias and Taricheæ; this cannot be reconciled with any theory placing Taricheæ south of Tiberias, or with the position assigned in the note, with some probability, to Sennabris; we are therefore led to the conclusion that Taricheæ was north of Tiberias.

The actual position of Taricheæ must be determined by the topographical indications given by Josephus. They are briefly as follows. The city was "situated like Tiberias, at the bottom of a mountain; and on those sides which are not washed by the sea, had been strongly fortified by Josephus, though not so strongly as Tiberias." A great many ships fitted for sea-fights were possessed by the people. There was a plain "before the city," on which a number of Jewish soldiers, sufficient to make Titus and 600 horsemen hesitate before attacking them, were assembled. Vespasian sends 2,000 archers "to seize upon the mountain that was over against the city, and repel those that were upon the wall, which archers did as they were commanded, and prevented those that attempted to assist them that way." Titus extends his horse, and charging across the plain, cuts his way through the Jews; but their numbers were so great they were able to force their way into the city; a tumult ensues between the peace and war parties, and taking advantage of this, Titus rides down to the lake, and marching along its shore enters the city. This manœuvre appears to have disconcerted the Jews, and a great slaughter followed, many being "slain as they were getting into their ships." In his *Life*, par. 32, Josephus states that Taricheæ was thirty stadia (three and three-quarter miles) from Tiberias; and the size of the place may be inferred from the numbers, 45,000, said to have been killed, sold as slaves, or otherwise disposed of at the time of the capture. The numbers are evidently much exaggerated, but they still indicate a large place.

Now, just three and three-quarter miles from the ruins of old Tiberias (south of the modern town), towards the north, is Mejdel (Magdala), and here it seems to me must have been Taricheæ. I find from my notebook that a considerable extent of ground at Mejdel is covered with remains of foundations, apparently those of houses, and that these ruins can be traced to the shore of the lake, where there is the tomb of a sheikh shaded by a large tree. Behind the village itself the cliff rises abruptly, about 1,000 feet, to the plateau on which Irbid lies. We have at Mejdel all the requirements of Josephus's narrative; it lies at the foot of a hill like Tiberias; it appears at one time to have extended to the lake; the beach is admirably suited for drawing up war galleys; there is some level ground to the south on which the fight may have taken place; the cliff overhanging the landward face of the town would enable the archers "to repel those that were upon the wall," and the shallowness of the lake at this point would be favourable to the form of attack adopted by Titus.

The position of Mejdol is of some importance, commanding the north end of the road passing by Tiberias along the western shore of the lake to the Jordan Valley, and I would suggest that there was originally nothing more than a small fortified position, the Migdol, Magadan, or Magdala of the Bible; that afterwards the town spread down to the shores of the lake, receiving the name of Taricheæ; that this new town was fortified by Josephus, the old Migdol becoming the citadel; and that on the capture and destruction of the town by Vespasian the place sank into insignificance. As in many other cases, the later name may have fallen into disuse, and the original name, under the form Mejdol, may have survived to the present day. The camping-place of Vespasian, half-way between Tiberias and Taricheæ, would be the plain of Ain Barideh, on which, according to a very early Christian tradition, the 5,000 were fed. There are other minor points connected with the question which need not be entered upon at present.

Bethsaida.—In the "Recovery of Jerusalem," p. 375—387, I gave my reasons for believing that there was only one Bethsaida, afterwards called Julias, at the point at which the Jordan enters the lake. At the time of the visit of Captain Anderson and myself the Jordan was in flood, and the state of the country very unfavourable for examination. We were, however, stopped in our progress over the plain by a deep arm or backwater of the lake, which is shown on the map of the Sea of Galilee, and it has struck me that this may have been either an old bed of the Jordan, or an artificial cutting made to isolate the site of Bethsaida-Julias in the same way as Kerak is isolated at the point where the Jordan leaves the lake. It would almost seem from the map that this backwater was the former outlet of the Jordan, and that the river now follows the course of an old artificial ditch; and if this were the case, it is easy to see how Bethsaida may have been sometimes considered as belonging to Galilee. Lieut. Conder will probably have an opportunity of visiting the ground when the water is lower and the country not flooded, and I think the question of the original course of the Jordan at this point one well worthy of examination. A few small excavations amongst the ruins between the Jordan and the backwater might also serve to throw light on the question.

November 11, 1876.

C. W. W.

MEGIDDO.

I.

THERE are few places in Palestine which possess more general interest for students of the Bible than does the ancient Canaanite city of Megiddo. It was here that the death of Josiah, King of Judah and ruler, apparently, of the greater part of Palestine, closed the history of the Jewish monarchy, being immediately followed by the defeat, at Carchemish, of the victorious Necho, the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Chron. xxxv.,

xxxvi.), and the captivity of the children of Judah. To the student of prophecy, again, it is of importance as identical with the "place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon" (hill of Megiddo) (Rev. xvi. 16). It is curious to find that so important a site has been identified by Dr. Robinson on such apparently insufficient evidence.

Megiddo will be found on the map placed about four miles north of *Taanuk*, the ancient Taanach, at the large ruin of *Lejjûn*, on the western edge of the great plain of Esdraelon. *Lejjûn* is undoubtedly the ancient Legio, a place well known in the fourth century, and mentioned by Jerome as being four miles north of Taanach. There is, however, nothing to connect Legio with the Biblical Megiddo.

The arguments in favour of the site are three.

1st. That Megiddo is mentioned in many passages in connection with Taanach, and was therefore probably near it.

2nd. That we find, in Judges v. 19, the expression, "then fought the kings of Canaan in Taanach, by [Heb. *Al*, "over"] the waters of Megiddo," pointing to the same connection.

3rd. In Zechariah xii. 11 we read "the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon." This word is taken by Jerome to be the name of a town, and he identifies it as being the place called in his time Maximianopolis, "in Campo Magiddo." The distances given by the Bordeaux Pilgrim serve to fix Maximianopolis at or near the present village of *Rummâneh*, near Taanach, as discovered by Vaudevelde, whence the identification made by Jerome; and hence Jerome's supposition that the "plain of Legio" (the modern *Merj Ibn 'Amir*) is equivalent to the "valley of Megiddon" comes to be accepted.

It will be noticed that none of these arguments fix Megiddo at *Lejjûn*, which is only adopted as the most important site near both Taanach and the Hadadrimmon of Jerome, in a place well supplied with water, and which in the fourth century gave its name to the great plain. Insufficient as these arguments evidently are, they have been pretty generally accepted, in default of any better proposition, and in consequence of the very scanty information as to the position of Megiddo which can be gleaned from the historical books of the Bible.

There are, however, at the outset, objections even to these arguments which may be stated as follows:—

1st. Megiddo is often mentioned in connection with places farther east in the Jordan valley.

2nd. The battle in which Sisera was defeated was not fought at Taanach or Megiddo, but near Mount Tabor. This is to be gathered from the Biblical account (Judges iv.), and it is clearly stated by Josephus that Barak camped "at Mount Tabor. . . Sisera met them, and pitched not far from the enemy" (Antiq. v. 5. 3); an account in strict accordance with the expression, "And I will draw unto thee to the river Kishon Sisera" (Judges iv. 7), for the sources of the Kishon are at the place called *el Mujahîyeh*, or "the springhead," where is to be found an extensive chain of pools and springs, about three miles west of the foot of Mount Tabor.

Thus the site of this famous battle is almost identical with that of Napoleon's battle of Mount Tabor, and the advantage obtained by Barak in his impetuous descent from the mountain on the enemy in the plain is evident. Had the battle taken place at Taanach, he would have had to come the whole width of the great plain, and would have attacked from low ground the enemy on the spurs of the hills far away from the main bed of the Kishon. The words "*in Taanach*," therefore, mentioned in connection with the "*waters of Megiddo*," over which the kings fought, must either be taken to be a district name applying to all the plain, of which Taanach was the capital, or it must be translated to its meaning, "*sandy soil*." This term is evidently derived, in the case of the town of Taanach, from the loose, basaltic soil in its neighbourhood; and the same soil is found all over the great plain and in the immediate neighbourhood of Tabor.

3rd. As regards Hadadrimmon, it is sufficient to remark that Jerome's identifications are often extremely misleading, that Megiddo was evidently unknown at his time, that it is doubtful whether Hadadrimmon was the name of a town or of a pagan deity, and that the Hebrew word *Bikah*, rendered "*valley*," is not properly applicable (judging by other instances) to a broad plain like that of Esdraelon, but rather to a great valley such as that leading down to the Jordan at Beisân.

The discovery that there is an important ruin in the neighbourhood of Beisân, called *Mejedd'a*, led me to re-examine the question with the view of seeing whether the site would fit the various requisites of the case, and the arguments appear to me sufficiently favourable to bear discussion.

II.

Megiddo occurs in connection with other towns in the following passages:—

Josh. xii. 20, 21.

Shimron Meron (in Upper Galilee).

Achshaph (near Accho).

Taanach (west of the great plain). "

Megiddo.

Kedesh.

Jokneam (west of the great plain).

Again: Josh. xvii. 11.

Bethshean (in the Jordan valley).

Ibleam (probably in the same direction).

Dor.

Endor (near the Jordan valley).

Taanach (west of the great plain).

Megiddo.

Again: Judges i. 27.

Bethshean.

Taanach.

Dor.

Ibleam.

Megiddo.

Again: 1 Chron. vii. 29.

Bethshean.

Taanach.

Megiddo.

Dor.

Lastly: 1 Kings iv. 12, Solomon's 5th district included.

Taanach.

Megiddo.

Bethshean.

Zartanah (below Jezreel).

It is evident that a position near *Beisan* is not at variance with the various notices of Megiddo in these passages.

Placing Megiddo in this position, the "valley of Megiddon" becomes the great valley leading down from Jezreel to Bethshean, and the "waters of Megiddo" the strong stream of the *Nahr Jalûd*, which receives a considerable supply from numerous large springs round the site, called *Mejedd'a*. We are thus brought much closer to the neighbourhood of Tabor, where the battle was fought by the "kings of Canaan" against Barak; nor is the distance from Taanach itself very great, as it is situate $14\frac{1}{2}$ English miles west of the proposed site at *Mejedd'a*.

Two other passages remain in which Megiddo is mentioned: 1st, the account of Amariah's flight from Jehu; and, 2nd, the battle of Megiddo, in which Josiah lost his life.

Amariah flying from Jehu "by the way of the garden house" (*Beth-hag-Genn*) was slain "by Ibleam. And he fled to Megiddo, and died there" (2 Kings ix. 27). The town of *Jenân* is generally supposed to represent the garden house, but the explanation of the topography on this supposition is extremely confused, as it obliges us to trace the flight southwards from Jezreel, and afterwards back northwards (that is to say, *away from Jerusalem*) to the supposed site of Megiddo at *Lejjûn*.

If, however, we suppose the *Beth-hag-Genn*, or "garden house," to be the modern *Beit Jenn*, the flight of Amariah was directed northwards; and there exists in a position intermediate between Jezreel and *Beit Jenn* a site called *Bel'ameh*, which may very probably represent Ibleam. In this case the King of Judah by a detour would have reached Megiddo, lying on his route *towards Jerusalem* along the Jordan valley, and it is worthy of notice that all the district thus supposed to have been traversed is suitable for the passage of a wheeled vehicle.

As regards the battle of Megiddo there is but little to be said. The Egyptian records make it pretty clear that the route across Palestine, usually followed by the Egyptian armies, was the same as that by

which the Midianites descended into Egypt with Joseph. Following the great plain northwards until the high Judean watershed and the great Samaritan chains were passed, it struck across the lower hills and emerged into the plains near Dothan. Thence along the great plain of Esdraelon it led towards the valley of Jezreel, and descended by Bethshan to the fords of Jordan at the *Makhálet 'Abâra*. Here the road crossed into the plain below the plateau of Mount Gilead, and so continued eastwards towards the empire of Assyria.

There can be but little doubt that this was the route pursued by Necho, being the shortest and easiest which he could choose in crossing Palestine; and on this route we find the ruin of *Mejedd'a*, whilst Lejjûn lies some miles to the north of the line. Still further, there is no point at which the King of Judah would be more likely to intercept the advance of the Egyptians. To toil over the mountains of Judea, to pass the hostile district of Samaria, to camp at a spot north of the enemy's line of march, and thus to cut himself from his own base of operations, would have been a dangerous and difficult, and yet further, an extremely improbable course for Hezekiah to pursue; but an advance along the highway of the Jordan valley into a strong position on the flank of the enemy, threatening them in their attempt to cross the river, would have been an easy and, strategically, a probable proceeding. Any reader who will take the trouble to look for a moment at the map will see that *Mejedd'a*, near Bethshan, is a natural place of meeting for the Egyptian and Jewish armies.

As far, then, as the scanty indications obtainable from Biblical accounts are concerned, there is fair reason for identifying Megiddo with the present *Mejedd'a*.

III.

In three ancient Egyptian documents, Megiddo is mentioned in connection with other towns, namely:—1st, in the history of Thothmes III., especially in the document called the "Battle of Megiddo;" 2nd, in the "Travels of a Mohar;" and, 3rd, in the "Geographical List of Shishak."

With regard to the last, it is sufficient to remark, that though Taanach occurs in the same list it is separated by ten other names from *M'akedan*, which is supposed to represent Megiddo. In the same way, in the lists of Thothmes III., Megiddo stands first, as being the objective of the campaign; but Taanach, in company with other places in the great plain, is to be found in the third group as No. 42 on the list.

It remains to see how the other documents fit with the new site, for the difficulties which arise in endeavouring to reconcile these with the generally accepted position at *Lejjûn* are very considerable.

The Egyptian advance is described with considerable minuteness from the "fortress of the land of Sharuana," where the troops as-

sembled. The advice of the allied chiefs, with regard to the line of march, is given as follows (see "Records of the Past," vol. i., p. 39) :—

LINE.

26. " They say in reply to his Majesty what is it like going on this road
27. which leads along so narrow . . .
31. The enemy were standing at the main roads
32. of Aaaruna they will not fight. Now as to the course of the main roads.
33. One of the roads it leads . . . us . . .
34. of the land Aanaka the other leads to
35. the north road of Genta. Let us proceed to the north of Maketa.
36. How will our mighty Lord march on (the way in triumph there)
Let his Majesty make
37. us to go on that secret road."

This advice was, however, rejected by the king with contempt. "I will go on this road of Aaaruna," said Thothmes, "if there be any going on it," and a march over difficult country followed, the third fragment commencing as follows :—

LINE.

1. " Aaruna the powerful troops of his Majesty followed to
2. Aaruna the van coming forth to the valley.
3. They filled the gap of that valley.
12. (It was the time of) noon when his Majesty reached the south of Maketa on the shore of the waters of Kaina it being the seventh hour from noon his Majesty pitched . . .
14. The south horn of the army of his Majesty was at the shore of Kaina the northern horn to the north-west of Maketa."

In previously discussing the question of this march, I found considerable difficulty in reconciling these details with the position of Megiddo at Lejjûn. As I had then occasion to explain, the site of *Arrâneh* would fit well with the Aaruna of the list of Shishak, but could not be reconciled with the present account, supposing Megiddo to be correctly identified. (See *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1876, pp. 90, 91.)

In the same way we are obliged to seek for Kaina south of Megiddo, and this identification is easily made with the important ruin of *Ka'un* in the Jordan valley, supposing Megiddo to be at the newly proposed site.

The route may probably be traced as follows :—

The main road from *Jenin* towards Egypt passes, as I have had occasion to explain previously, along the plain north of Dothan; the easiest route then follows one of the spurs to the north of *'Arrabeh*, and descends by the villages of *Kefr Ra'i*, *'Ellar*, and *'Attîl*, to the plain of

Sharon. A little to the north is the strong site called *Jett*, which would seem to be the Geuta or Gethuna of Thothmes.

A second road passing through *Jett* leads across more open country to the neighbourhood of Lejjûn, and thence descends by Jezreel into the Jordan valley north of *Mejedd'a*. This is probably the route which the allied chiefs proposed to follow, and though longer it is undoubtedly easier than the former.

The valley of Aaruna, first reached by the troops of Thothmes, is probably the plain of Esdraelon, in which '*Arâneh* now stands. It does not appear clearly whether they attacked a town of that name, but we understand that they advanced to Kaina, south of Maketa, and consequently we must suppose the main body at least to follow the line of the Roman road eastwards from Jenin to the site of *Ka'ân*, in the Jordan valley, four Roman miles south of *Mejedd'a*. The northern horn, which was on the next day to the north-west of Maketa, may very possibly have taken a more direct route by the old road through '*Arraneh* across Mount Gilboa.

As regards the time required for these operations. From the plain of Sharon to Jenin is a distance of fifteen Roman miles, which might probably be traversed in five hours, and from Jenin to *Mejedd'a*, or to *Ka'ân*, is some ten miles farther, or three hours. Thus, leaving the neighbourhood of Geuta at 4 a.m., Thothmes might easily have arrived by noon at the "shores" or border of Kaina.

This explanation of the topography is not only consistent in itself, but the new position of Megiddo serves to confirm the identifications proposed by me for several places in the Geographical List. (See *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1876, p. 146.) Thus Nos. 9 and 10, Raba and Tutina (*Raba* and *Umm et Tût*), are now on the line of march, and Nos. 14, 15, Atara and Abara (*et Tireh* and *el Bireh*), in the Jordan valley, are a little to the north of the new site for Megiddo.

Turning to the journey of the Mohar, we find the new site for Megiddo also presents less difficulty than the old. (See *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1876, p. 81.) In this document Megiddo appears in company with Beithsheal (*Brisân*), Rohob (*Sheikh Archâb*), and the fords of Jelden (*Wady Julâd*), and it would seem to be close to the latter, if we accept the most simple rendering of the words :

"The fords of Jelden, how does one cross them? let me know the passage to enter Mageddo."

The difficult country of which the Mohar is warned lay apparently west of Mageddo, and to avoid it he makes a detour. This is easily explained if we accept the new site for Megiddo at the foot of Gilboa, and suppose the Mohar to follow that same north road along the valley of Jezreel, which was recommended by the allied chiefs to Thothmes, and which necessitates a considerable detour before joining the direct road to Egypt.

As far, then, as this document is concerned, the site is possible, and, indeed, fits in a remarkable manner. Thus not only do the lists of the

Old Testament and those of Thothmes and of Shishak all allow of the proposed identification, but the site allows us to trace in a satisfactory manner the routes pursued by successive expeditions in various directions, namely, that of Thothmes advancing from the south-west, that of the Mohar reaching Megiddo from the north, and that of Pharaoh Necho in his direct advance on Carchemish.

IV.

It only remains to investigate the relations between the Hebrew and Arabic words, and to describe the site.

The Hebrew word Megiddo is apparently derived from the root *Jeded* (to cut down). It is certain that the translators who rendered Zech. xii. 11 regarded it in that light, for the Greek reading in this passage has *εκκοπτομενος*, where the English has Megiddon. This root, *Jeded*, is synonymous in its meanings with another Hebrew root, *Jed'a*, with the guttural *Ain*, also meaning "to cut down." In Arabic, however, the root *Jed'a* only has this meaning, "to cut down;" thus the Arabic derivative, *Mejed'a*, is the equivalent in meaning of the Hebrew Megiddo; and the fact that the Arabic root, *Jedd*, has no connection with the Hebrew *Jeded*, but means "to be large or great," explains in a satisfactory manner the existence of the guttural in the Arabic which is not found in the Hebrew.

Mejed'a means "the grazing place," or place cut down by sheep. It is not improbable that this may be the original meaning of the name Megiddo, as the site is situate in a part of the country where a plentiful supply of water produces a large crop of herbage during the greater part of the year.

As regards the site itself, it resembles most of the more ancient cities of Palestine in presenting nothing beyond huge mounds of debris, with traces of ruins rendered indistinguishable by age. It has every appearance of having been at one time a place of importance, and no less than four springs exist close to it, the water being clear and good, and a considerable stream flowing north-east from the ruins to join the *Nahr Jalûd*. The distance from Jenin is ten Roman miles, and from *Beisân* about four.

These notes may perhaps serve to show that a place of great importance, previously identified on very insufficient grounds, has been recovered by the Survey party. The name Mejedd'a will, however, be found on Murray's new map.

C. R. C.

NOTES FROM THE MEMOIR.

The following points have been noticed in preparing the nomenclature of the southern sheets of the map since the publication of the last *Quarterly Statement*.

Jerusalem Sheet.—During the three months in which the non-commissioned officers were left at Jerusalem in the summer of 1874, they were employed in the revision of Major Wilson's Survey of Jerusalem, to bring it up to date. Following our usual plan, they were instructed to endeavour to obtain *every* native name in the environs, and in this they received most valuable assistance from Dr. Chaplin and other residents. The result is the addition of nearly eighty Arabic names within the boundaries of the six-inch Survey, but outside the walls of the city, the nomenclature within which had already been most carefully studied, as is evident to all who consult the larger scale-map of Jerusalem.

One of the most curious discoveries resulting from this work relates to Zion.

(1.) *Zion* has been placed by different authorities in very different positions, and generally has been thought by modern writers, as by the early Christians, to refer to the higher hill on which the upper city of Josephus stood. The name, however, has never been recovered. According to Gesenius it means "sunny," and the proper equivalent in Arabic or in Syriac, according to this same authority, is *Sahyûn*. It is a remarkable fact that about one and three-quarter miles west of the Jaffa Gate there exists a valley having exactly this name, *Wādî Sahyûn*. It runs southwards towards the Convent of the Cross, and debouches on the plain near Beit Sufâfa; during part of its course it is called *Wādî 'Annûr*, apparently meaning "the cultivated valley." This discovery may perhaps lead students to consider the name *Zion* as a district name rather than that of a particular mountain.*

(2.) Another curious point seems to bear on the question of *Millo*, the name of a part of Jerusalem which is rendered *Akra* by the LXX., and is thus very probably identical with the *Aera* of Josephus. The root from which the word is derived has the meaning "to fill up," and hence it is doubtful whether "a mound" or "a trench filled with water" is to be understood. It has apparently escaped notice that the pool west of Jerusalem, commonly called the Upper Pool of Gihon, has a similar name. It is called *Birket Mamilla* by Robinson, and he derives the name from the Church of St. Mamilla, which is mentioned by Bernhard the Wise, 780 A.D., as existing near, traces of which still remain. By the native scribes, however, the word is written *Mu Milla*, which may be rendered Water of *Millo*. The Arabic root *Mela* means "to fill," and *Mu Melân* would mean "full of water," but *Milla* must come from another root, *Mell*, "to hasten," unless it be derived from the Hebrew.

As regards the mediæval St. Mamilla it is important to know if such a saint existed, as the Crusaders were often in the habit of creating saints to suit localities, as in the famous instance of St. Architriclinius, at Cana of Galilee.

(3.) A third point of interest relates to the name *Mizpeh*. Many

* It is remarkable that in 1334 A.D. Isaac Chelo speaks of *Zion* as being not *at* but *near* Jerusalem.

students, including Dean Stanley, are of opinion that a town of this name stood on the range now identified with Scopus, north of Jerusalem. The main objection to this view is that no ruins have been found in this direction. It will, however, be of interest to scholars to hear that the name *Süffa*, which almost exactly represents the Hebrew Mizpeh, refers, according to our nomenclature, to part of the ridge in question, which is called *'Arkâb es Süffa*, or the "ridge of the view." In former notes I have spoken of the probable position of the Mizpeh of Samuel and of the later Mizpeh of Jeremiah.

(4.) Another very curious name occurs in the Jordan valley on Sheet 18 of the Survey—viz., *Wady Mesâ'adet 'Aisa*, "the valley of the ascension of Jesus." It applies to a large valley leading from the ridge of the *'Osh el Ghürâb*, a prominent peak north of Jericho, which I have proposed as identical with the Rock Oreb. This is not far removed from the traditional scene of the temptation of Christ at the Quarantania mountain, and it is possible that the name retains some reminiscence of a monkish tradition making the *'Osh el Ghürâb* the "high mountain" of the temptation. The question, however, requires further investigation, for it may also refer to some tradition of Joshua.

The following are scattered over the southern sheets in various directions:—

(5.) *Ashnah*.—This town belongs to the Shephelah group (Josh. xv. 33), occurring between Eshtaol (*Eshû'a*, according to Vandevelde) and Zanoah (*Zanû'a*, Robinson). M. Gamneau has proposed *'Islîn*, which supposes the *sîn* to represent the Hebrew *shin*, the L to take the place of N, the *'ain* for *aleph*, and a final N not in the Hebrew. It must be remarked that some of these towns, as well as some of those in the next group, were certainly north of the boundary of Judah, as given in Joshua xv. 1 to 12. Mr. Grove points to the probable identity of Ashnah with the *B. Asan* of the Onomasticon. This is probably, as I have already endeavoured to show (*Quarterly Statement*, July, 1876, p. 151), the present *Beit Shenna*, two and a half miles north of 'Amwâs. The only objection to the identification of this spot with Ashnah is that the place is north of the boundary line of Judah, but the same objection applies to the sites of Zoreah, Eshtaol, Naameh, Beth Dagon, Adithaim, and Gederah, which are nevertheless fixed with tolerable certainty.

(6.) *Aloth* (1 Kings iv. 16), in the tribe of Asher, means "higher places." It does not appear to have been suggested that this is the present *'Alia* (i.e., "higher place") in a position which seems to fit the account of the division into districts.

(7.) *Beth Dagon*.—This is one of the points on the boundary of Zebulon (Josh. xix. 27). Other points on this line—Zebulon, Neiel, and Shihor Libnath—I have already noticed, as all leading to the supposition that the River Belus formed the northern boundary of Zebulon. Beth Dagon was apparently on this same line, near the western end of the boundary. This leads to the identification with the large site called *Tell Dâûk*, which will be found on the Survey sheet close to the banks

of the Belus. The change is similar to that of the name Dagon, applying to a place near Jericho, called afterwards Doch, and now *Dūk*.

(8.) *Cities of the Plain*.—Our information as to these cities is so slight that any notes will be of interest. The Rev. W. F. Birch, of Manchester, suggests to me the identity of Admah with the "City Adam" of Joshua iii. 16, the modern *Damieh* probably representing the name at the point where the *plain* of Jordan contracts into a narrow *valley*. Of Ghomorrhah I have already spoken. Zoar we seem to owe to Dr. Tristram. Sodom and Zeboim alone remain entirely without a suggestion.

(9.) *The Cities of the Midbar* (Josh. xv. 61).—This group of six towns includes Engedi, and they have been sought accordingly in the desert west of the Dead Sea. The entire absence of ruins or of water in this district is very much against the supposition that it was ever inhabited. It would seem more probable that the cities stood on the hills skirting the desert. The first of these cities has been supposed identical with the Beth Arabah of Josh. xv. 6; but it is worthy of notice that according to the Talmud there was a place called Beth Arabah near Bethlehem (see *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1876, p. 98). Secacah, the third of the towns in question, may perhaps be the present ruin called *Khūrbet es Sikkeh*, and also *cū Dikkeh* east of Jerusalem. Engedi is already well known, and it is very tempting to suppose the "city Maleh," or "of Salt" to be *Tell el Milh* east of Beersheba. The identification of this last site with Moladah of the Negeb does not rest on a very secure basis, and the latter site may prove to be farther west, perhaps at the present *Tell Melûha*. Two of the six cities, Nibshan and Middin, remain without any suggested site.

(10.) Another question of considerable interest regards the *Cities of the Negeb*, some of which belong to Judah, some to Simeon. The total number of this group is given as twenty-nine in the Hebrew; but the number of names as translated in the Authorised Version is no less than thirty-seven. Many of these towns are far south of the limits of the Survey, such for instance as Kadesh and Hezron, and probably Eder and Heshmon; but others have been identified as some fifteen miles north of Beersheba; and the Negeb included, as we know, the neighbourhood of Debir, even farther north. The word *Negeb*, "dry land," so evidently refers to the waterless chalky district in the south of Palestine, that the limits of the Negeb may very naturally be considered to exist at the line where the formation changes, giving place to the harder limestone. In this case the country west of Debir and north of Beersheba must be included in the Negeb, as we know it was included in the Christian district of *Daroma*, which is synonymous in meaning.

In this country are a large number of ruins, and their names immediately recall many of the group of Negeb towns, as will be seen from the following list of possible identifications:—

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| 1. Hormah (Zephath). | Sulifât. |
| 2. Sharuhén. | T. esh Sheri'ah. |
| 3. Shilhim. | Kh. Shelkhah (?) |

4. Ashan.	'Aseileh.
5. Etam.	'Aitûn.
6. Hazar Susim.	Beit Sûsin.

Hormah.—The meaning in Hebrew is “destruction,” and it is twice used (Numb. xxi. 3; Judges i. 17) to denote places where a destruction had been made. There is no reason, however, to conclude that the site is the same in the two cases, and indeed the fact that the historical origin is different in each case, seems clearly to point to two sites. The town in question was called Sephath, and only named Hormah after its destruction; some of the towns in its neighbourhood may be identified as being north-west of Beersheba, hence geographically the site of *Sulifât* would be suitable, whilst it represents the Hebrew Zephath more closely than any formerly proposed name. Close to *Sulifât* is a large mound called *Tell Hôra*, in which name possibly we have a trace of the second name Hormah.

(11.) *Berea*.—The account of the advance of Bacchides on Jerusalem (1 Macc. ix. 4; Ant. xii. 11), contains some points of topography little understood. The town of Berea where he encamped is called apparently Beth Zetho by Josephus. Judas Maccabeus encamped at Eleasa, or, according to another reading, at Adasa. Bethzetho is thought to be a corrupt reading for Berzetha. Eleasa was apparently farther from Jerusalem than Berea. The defeated troops were pursued to Mount Azotus (or Aza, according to Josephus) (1 Macc. ix. 4). Bacchides was advancing from Arbela in Galilee, and the mention of Adasa shows that the place of the battle is north of Jerusalem.

The Survey clears up the whole of this question in a remarkable manner, by the following identifications:—

1. Berea.	el Bîreh.
2. Adasa.	Khurbet 'Adasch.
3. Berzetho.	} Bîr ez Zeit.
4. Mount Azotus.	
5. Eleasa.	Khurbet Il'asa.

(12.) *Janoah*, a town of Naphtali, probably the modern *Yanûkh*, near the western limits of the territory of this tribe (2 Kings xv. 29). This is, I believe, a new identification.

(13.) *Giloh* (Josh. xv. 51) is possibly the present *Khûrbet Jâla*.

(14.) *Jeshua* (Neh. xi. 26), a town near Beersheba, is very probably the important ruin of *S'awi* in this direction; the letters being the same with a slight introversion.

(15.) *Makaz* (1 Kings iv. 9).—Possibly the modern *Kh. Makkûs*, written with the *Sad*.

(16.) *Rabbith*, a town of Issachar (Josh. xix. 20). The two next towns on the list are unknown, though Abez might perhaps be the modern *Yabid*; but Rabbith seems very probably towards the southern limits of the tribe. In this direction we find the modern *Raba*, a place of import-

ance, situate south-east of Jenin, and due east of *Râmeh*, supposed to be the Remeth of Issachar.

(17.) *Surid*.—This place is one of the unknown points on the southern boundary of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 10-12). It is to be sought near the north boundary of the great plain, and between Chisloth (*Iksal*) and Jokneam (*Tell Keimun*). This is the position of the large ruin *Tell Shaddud*. It is possible that we should read *Shadid* instead of *Shurid*, and this supposition is strengthened by the LXX. reading $\Sigma\delta\delta\omicron\omicron\kappa$. The confusion of D and R in Hebrew and Aramaic is well known to be of constant occurrence.

(18.) *Tirzah*.—This important town, once the capital of Israel, has been identified (though not with great confidence) by Robinson as being the modern *Tüllüza*.

The argument in favour of the site cannot be taken from similarity of name, because the Arabic *ta* does not properly represent the *teth*, nor does the *vain* ever take the place of *tzadi* as far as yet proved. The double L also remains to be accounted for. Brocard speaks of Thersa as "on a high mountain, three leagues from Samaria to the east." *Tüllüza* is only six English miles from Samaria, and is not on a high mountain. At the distance of twelve English miles is an important and ancient site, standing in well-wooded country, on the main road from Nablus to Beisan, and called *Teisâr*. The word is spelt with the *sâl*, and the identification supposes only the introversion of the last two letters, as the first letter is a *te* (or *teth*). The site seems well fitted to represent an ancient and important town, and there are numerous ancient sepulchres and caves north of the village, which may perhaps include the tombs of the first four kings of Israel buried at Tirzah (1 Kings xvi. 6). Full notes of the antiquities of this site have been made during the course of the Survey.

(19.) *Zaanaim* (ELON BEZAANAIM) may be rendered "the plain of Bezanaim," and is rendered by the Targum "plain of swamps," *i.e.*, BITZAH, in modern Arabic *Bassah*. In the Talmud also (Tal. Jer. Megilla 70a) the B is evidently considered an integral part of the name from the translation *Agina Kedesh*, *Agina* being the rendering of *Bitzah*, "a swamp" (Josh. xix. 33). It has been supposed identical with the place called Plain of Zaanaim (ELON BEZAANAIM), near Kedesh (Judges iv. 11), but the towns mentioned in connection with this plain, namely Adami, Nekeb, &c., are easily identified with places east of Tabor, *ed Dameh*, *Nakib*, &c.

It is remarkable that Barak called together the children of Israel in Kedesh, and then took up a position on Mount Tabor. It seems highly probable that this is another Kedesh, not Kadesh Naphtali, which is thirty English miles from Tabor, and separated by some of the most difficult country in Palestine. In this case we may very probably suppose Bezanaim to have been east of Tabor, and may identify it with the modern *Bessûm*. This is a discovery of no little importance as bearing on the whole account of the battle of Tabor, and on the position of

Harosheth of the Gentiles, which may very probably be placed at el Harathūyeh. The site of this Kedesh has still to be recovered, and there are independent reasons for supposing a town of this name to have existed in the same direction, probably at the place now called *Kadis* on the shore of the Sea of Galilee.

(20.) *Zanoah* (Josh. xv. 56) was identified by Robinson as the present Zanuta, but there are philological and topographical objections to this view. The name *Zenākh*, applying to a valley beneath the important ruin of *Beit 'Amrah*, represents the Hebrew far more closely, and the ruin is apparently in the required position, though it would seem to have lost its original name, the modern one meaning only "the inhabited building."

(21.) *Zereda*, the birthplace of Jeroboam (1 Kings x. 26), is possibly the modern *Surdeh*, one and a quarter miles south of Jufna, and therefore within the limits of Mount Ephraim, as we gather Zereda to have been from the LXX. interpolation (1 Kings xii. 24.)

(22.) *Zemaraim*, a town of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 22), has long been identified as the present *Khūrbet Sumra* in the Jordan valley, but the reason why the name is in the plural is explained by the Survey, for two ruins of the name Sumra will be found close to one another. The name of Mount Zemaraim (2 Chron. xiii. 4) also possibly survives in the modern *Tal'at es Sumra*.

(23.) Out of about 400 places in Western Palestine known to the authors of the Onomasticon, only some twenty remain now to be fixed. The early-Christian topography is indeed far more completely recovered than could have been foreseen. Among the places not fixed are the following:—

Ailom, or *Aialon*, is also mentioned as a place three miles east of Bethel. This would seem to be the modern *'Alia*. Jerome identifies it with Ajalon, but states that the Jews in his time considered Alus (*'Ulo*), near Nicopolis (*'Amwās*), to be the true site, as it is now held to be.

(24.) Two Talmudic sites have also fallen into place, namely: 1st. Beth Rima (Mishna Menachoth, viii. 6), a place in the Judean hills, whence good wine was brought. It is no doubt the modern *Beit Rîma* in the hill country north of Jerusalem. 2nd. *En Kushi* is mentioned (Tal. Jer. Abodah Zarah, v. 4) as near Kefr Shalem, apparently in Samaria; this would seem to be the spring below *Kh. Kefr Kûs*, one and a half miles north-west of *Sâlim*, near Nablus.

(25.) Another site, *Naorath*, which is noticed more than once as on the boundary of Ephraim (Josh. xvi. 7), may possibly be fixed by the following evidence:—

1. Naorath is mentioned in the Onomasticon as being five miles from Jericho, which is the position of a ruin called *Khūrbet el Aûjeh* (a common Arabic name meaning "crooked," taken from the valley near the ruin).

2. Josephus (Ant. xvii. 13, 1) mentions that Herod "diverted half the water with which the village of Neara used to be watered, and drew off

that water into the plain to water those palm-trees which he had planted." An ancient aqueduct leads to the ruin noted above from 'Ain Dûk, and several channels lead out of it at right angles, evidently for purposes of irrigation. This, coupled with the distance given in the Onomasticon, seems to point clearly to the identity of Naarath with *Khûrbet el Aûjeh*.*

(26.) *Laish*, near Anathoth (Isaiah x. 30), is possibly *el Isawîyeh*, in the required direction.

(27.) Another discovery of no little interest is the name of one of the Jordan fords, *el Mandesch*, which means "the place struck." It is situate north-east of Jericho, and we are immediately reminded of the verse 2 Kings ii. 8:—

"And Elijah took his mantle and wrapped it together and smote the waters, and they were divided hither and thither, so that they two went over on dry ground."†

(28.) The present name of Herodium, where Herod was buried, is *Jebel Fureidîs*, or "little paradise mountain." The word is a diminutive of *Ferdûs*, "a paradise." We have over and over again had occasion to remark that *foreign words*—Latin, Greek, or Frankish—undergo strange metamorphoses in the Fellah language. It is not impossible that *Ferdûs* is a corruption of *Herodus*, and this supposition is strengthened by a discovery which I made personally in the middle of the country of a sepulchre to which the title *Kabr el Melek Ferdûs* applied. This can scarcely be supposed to mean, "tomb of King Paradise," but may mean "tomb of King Herod," being probably one of the many Idumean princes who bore the name. This explanation would account for the modern name of Herodium, and serve to still more certainly identify the site.

(29.) Another very curious name applies to a remarkable rock feature near Et Tell, Major Wilson's Ai. It is called *Burjmus*, and the word having five radicals, cannot be Arabic or Hebrew. It is, however, exactly the pronunciation which would be given by the natives to the Greek *περγαμος*, which means originally "a high rock." We have here a Greek word preserved, a fact of very rare occurrence in Palestine.‡ Farther north we find a Latin word, also corrupted in a curious manner, for the fortress which is called *District* (Petra Incisa) by William of Tyre, is now known as *Dustrey*.

(30.) A sacred place called *Jami'a Abu Nejeim*, "Mosque of the Son of

* Naarath, or Naaran, is also mentioned in the Talmud (Medrash Ekha i. 17) in connection with Jericho.

† It must, however, be remarked that there is on Sheet 9 a marsh called *el Mandesi*, so that the word would appear to apply to the character of the ground near the ford. The other name of the marsh is *el Maskenîyeh*, or "place of sinking." Freytag in his Lexicon gives "to be prostrate," and "to exude" (of water from the sides of a well) as other meanings of the root *Nedes*, the primary meaning being "to strike"—with a spear, or club, &c.

‡ In the same way the Arabic *Burj* is the Greek *πυργος*, "a tower," though perhaps not immediately derived from it.

the Star," exists about two miles south-west of Jebel Fureidis, not far from the Pool of Solomon.

The neighbourhood of Bethér (*Bittêr*) suggests a possible connection with Bar Chozeba (perhaps named from the town Chozeba, now *Kueizîba*, about seven miles farther south), called by his followers Bar Chochebas, "Son of the Star."

(31.) The name *Kabr Hebrûn*, "grave of Hebron," applies to an ancient Jewish sepulchre outside Hebron on the west. The origin and antiquity of the name I am not able to vouch for, but the fact is well worthy of notice.

(32.) On Sheet 21 (Hebron Hills) there are several points of considerable interest to be noted.

The present site of Mamre is shown at the *Ballutet Sebta*, or "oak of rest," a fine old tree, almost entirely withered, near the Russian Hospice, north-west of Hebron. Close to this site is a spring called '*Ain Kheir ed Dîn*, "spring of the choice of faith." This is probably due to a tradition of Abraham's choice of faith. "And I will make my covenant between me and thee" (Gen. xvii. 2).

It is often impossible to obtain from the peasantry the traditions attaching to such names, and when obtained it is uncertain what may be their antiquity, but the present name is interesting in connection with the *Kabr Hebrun*, and the passage speaking of "the field of Machpelah before Mamre, the same is Hebron in the land of Canaan" (Gen. xxiii. 19), and it is further remarkable that the name of Canaan is still applied to a ruined site close to Hebron on the south (*Khûrbet Kan'an*).

(33.) The origin of the name Sirah, the well where Abner was killed (2 Sam. iii. 26), is also of interest. It means "withdrawn," and the present name, '*Ain Sareh*, has the same meaning. It is probably so called from its position being reached by a little alley leading out of the main road. The modern name might be thought to be connected with Sarah, Abraham's wife, but Sirah is spelt with *Samech*, which is properly represented by the Arabic *sîn*.

(34.) *Hagar's Spring*.—On the same sheet, No. 21, south-west of Hebron and east of Dûra, is a fountain called '*Ain el Hejeri*, "spring of the fugitive," or, as it might also be rendered, "of Hagar." This cannot really represent the Beer Lahai Roi (Gen. xvi. 7-14) which is to be sought south of Beersheba, but may be connected with a traditional site of the occurrences mentioned in this chapter, being situate on the high road from Hebron to the desert of Shur.

(35.) Three other indications of places mentioned in Scripture may be added:—

1. *Meronth*, a town mentioned Neh. iii. 7, possibly the present *Merrîna*.
2. *Haruph*, the home of one of David's heroes, probably the present *Khûrbet Kharâf*.
3. *Lobnah*, noticed by the Onomasticon as identical with Libnah, and

situate in the district of Eleutheropolis, is not improbably the large ruin called *Beit el Ban* in the required direction.

(36.) *Talmudic Sites*.—About 350 places in Western Palestine are noticed in the Talmudic writings, the large majority being incidentally referred to in the Gemara. Nearly 230 of these are easily identified, and the following new proposals may be added:—

1. *Ferka* (Mish. Kelim, xvii. 5; Orlah, iii. 7) is generally identified with *Ferkha*, but the name is more properly represented by *Beit Furik*. Its nuts are mentioned in the Mishna, and walnuts still flourish in the neighbourhood of the modern *B. Furik*.

2. *Bekiün* or *Pekiün*, in or near the maritime plain (Tal. Jer. Chagiga, 3a; Tal. Bab. Sanhed. 32b) is not impossibly the present *Wady Fukin*.

3. *Anath*, a town built by the giant Ahiman (Tal. Bab. Yoma, 10a) is not improbably the early Christian Anna, “a city above Jericho,” and very probably the modern *Kefr 'Ana*, north of Bethel.

4. *Kefr Likitia*, (5) *Hamthau*, (6) and *Bethel of Judah* were places where Hadrian placed posts to stop the Jews flying from Bether (Midrash Ekha, ii. 3). They are, therefore, to be sought on the main roads leading from Bether, and may very well be identified with the places called *El Katt* on the southern main road, *Khamasa* (Emmaus) on the western road, and *Beit Aul* (Elath or Aila of the Talmud and LXX.) on the south-western.

7. *Keruthim*, a word in the plural, referring, therefore, apparently to more than one place, is noticed (Mish. Menachoth, ix. 7) as a place whence the best wine was obtained. There are, in the Shephelah, within the boundaries of Samaria, two villages called *Keráwa* near each other, and at one of these, *Keráwa Ibn Hasan*, are unusually numerous remains of ancient cultivation, wine-presses, and vineyard towers.

8. *Yassúb*, a place which has never been correctly fixed. Neubauer identifies it with the *Yassuf* of the Samaritan book of Joshua, which I have proposed to identify with the modern *Yassûf*. It is noticed with the next.

9. *Patris*, noticed in connection with Antipatris (Tosiphta Demoi, ch. i.) is probably the village of *Budrus*, not far from *Rás el 'Ain* (Antipatris).

(37.) *Early Christian Sites*.—A very curious remnant of a Greek name has just presented itself. Nearly all the long titles given by the Greeks to places in Palestine, e.g., Nicopolis, Maximianopolis, Diocletianopolis, have entirely disappeared or have left but a fragmentary reminiscence, as *el 'Atr* for Eleutheropolis, *esh Shók* for Scythopolis. In the latter category we may now rank *Aristobulias*, a city near the wilderness of Ziph, mentioned in the life of St. Euthymias (see Reland, p. 685), and noticed with Kephars Barucha, the present Beni Na'im. Close to Tell Zif, which is near the last-mentioned place, is the large ruin of *Istabil*, which, having four radicals, cannot be referred to any known Arabic or Hebrew root. We can scarcely hesitate in recognising in this name the remains of the Greek title *Aristobulias*.

Cydoessa, a town noticed by Josephus as near Paneas, is evidently the modern *Kadeisa*.

Gitta, the native place of Simon Magus (Justin Martyr, Apolog. ii.) is generally supposed to be the modern *Kuriet Jit*, but it may much more properly be placed at *Jett*, the Gath of the lists of Thothmes III. All that is known of *Gitta* is that it was a Samaritan town, which would fit with the proposed site.

The following is a rough conspectus of our present information of topography in Palestine:—

Biblical sites 420 known .. 160 unknown .. 580 total.

Talmudic sites 240 ,, .. 110 ,, .. 350 ,,

Early Christian sites.. 370 ,, .. 30 ,, .. 400 ,,

Many of the unknown sites lie beyond the bounds at present surveyed.

C. R. C.

CHRISTIAN AND JEWISH TRADITIONS.

THE question of the value to be attached to traditions concerning Biblical sites is one of so great importance that many readers will be interested in knowing what bearing the Survey of Palestine has upon it. The following remarks are intended to illustrate the value in various cases of the early and mediæval writings, both Christian and Jewish, in instances which have not been touched by general controversy, but from which we may draw deductions to guide us in the more important questions, especially as regards Jerusalem topography.

Whatever may be the history of the early Christian Church in Palestine, and the continuity of its traditions, it cannot be denied that from a literary point of view there is a break between the New Testament writings and the earliest pilgrimages of nearly 200 years. We find, indeed, in the writings of Justin Martyr (circ. 150 A.D.) a reference to the grotto of Bethlehem, but the earliest account of the sacred places of Palestine is the Jerusalem Itinerary (A.D. 333), composed by the anonymous pilgrim of Bordeaux, who visited the city just at the time of the building of Constantine's Basilica.

That the Christians were in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries spread through the whole country the Survey abundantly testifies: from the deserts of Beersheba to the slopes of Hermon we have come across innumerable convents and churches which cannot be dated later than this period. The nomenclature of the country bears witness to the existence of flourishing communities, charitable convents, and holy Christian sites, in every part, and the titles given to many ruins show the fate they finally underwent in perishing by fire.

It was during this time (A.D. 420) that St. Jerome came to Palestine and commenced in the dark grotto at Bethlehem his translation of the

Bible. He was, as is well known, one of the few fathers of that period who were acquainted with Hebrew; and it would appear also that he understood the Aramaic, which was, as he informs us, in his day the language of the natives. To him we owe the first attempt at a Bible dictionary, in his enlarged translation of the Onomasticon of Eusebius. The work contains some 400 places in Western Palestine, defined with sufficient exactitude to allow of their being still recognised. The study of this work leads, as I have often had occasion to remark in former papers, to two very clear conclusions.

1st. That St. Jerome's knowledge of the country was most intimate and accurate. That he had traversed almost the whole of Palestine, and had been able to note the direction and distances of places so exactly that they measure sometimes to a few hundred yards on the map. This, probably, was because the milestones on the great Roman roads were still in use.

2nd. That similarity of name was considered sufficient reason for identifying a Scriptural with a then existing site without any very careful examination into the question whether the position was geographically satisfactory. It follows that although the identification is often correct, Jerome's opinion cannot of itself be considered authoritative, unless supported by other considerations.

In order to clearly establish this statement it will be well to give the most striking instances in which accurate information has been combined with inaccurate conclusions; but in justice to the memory of the great man whose work we are now able thus to criticise, it must be remembered that the number of instances in which he has enabled us to preserve undoubted traces of the Scriptural nomenclature equals, if it does not surpass, these instances of error.

In the Onomasticon we find Adullam fixed as ten Roman miles east of Eleutheropolis, or about the position of the new site at *'Aidelmā*, but this is coupled with the extraordinary statement, "which also is Eglon" (a city known to exist at *'Ajlān*, eighteen miles south-west, at a site which is mentioned by Jerome under the name Agla, and actually suggested as identical with Beth Hogla, now known to be *'Ain Hajleh*, in the Jordan valley, or quite on the opposite side of Palestine). The origin of this mistake as to Eglon has been explained by M. Ganneau in his paper on Adullam.

Another striking instance is Jerome's identification of Ajalon as being three miles *east* of Bethel, evidently the modern *'Alia*; for he admits that the Jews in his time considered Ajalon to be situate at a village called Alus, "not far from Nicopolis"—evidently the modern *Yalō*, now generally accepted as representing Ajalon. This error is also remarkable because Jerome knew of the position of the upper and nether Bethhoron, which renders his site for Ajalon quite inadmissible.

The ideas formed of the position of the tribe boundaries must have been very vague, for Jerome places Gibeah of Benjamin, or of Saul, which he confuses with Gibeah Phineas (now *Abertah*), between Beth-

lehem and Eleutheropolis, evidently at the modern *Jeb'a*, whereas the proximity of Michmash and Ramah, both of which he identifies correctly, should have suggested quite a different direction.

Again, in speaking of Neiel (now *Ya'nîn*), on the boundary of Asher and Zebulon, he suggests *Betournea*, which, as I have shown previously, must be the modern '*Anîn*, in the territory of Manasseh. And again, he makes the same place to be Bethanoth of Naphtali, speaking with even greater certainty.

Anob, a city close to Debir, in the extreme south of the hills of Judah, is transported by the Onomasticon to the neighbourhood of the low hills at *Beit Nûba*. Jerome hesitates between this site and that of '*Annâbeh*, a little farther north. Anab was fixed by the Survey at '*Anâb*, close to *edh Dhâherîyeh* (proposed by me as identical with Debir).

Beth Arbel was the farthest northern limit of Palestine, and is to be sought north of Tyre and Sidon; yet Jerome would place it in the great plain, nine miles from Legio, evidently the modern '*Arûbôneh*, on the boundary between Galilee and Samaria. Anim, a town in the Negeb, is supposed by Jerome to be situate at "the terebinth," now called "Abraham's house," north of Hebron. Yet the site now accepted as that of Anim, the modern *el Ghâwein*, is fixed with considerable precision in the Onomasticon, and the fact that there were two sites, "the upper" and "the lower," which are both still in existence, is noted, but one of these he supposes to be Anob, which he had already fixed in another position; whilst he would seem to place a second Anim at the upper site, which he notices as entirely Christian in its population, Ain, the city of Simeon, also supposed to be *Bethemin*, two miles from "the terebinth," evidently the modern *Beit 'Ainûn*, far away from the territory of Simeon.

It is clear from the account given in Joshua xv. that the Valley of Achor, where Achan was stoned, lay south of Jericho, probably being the present *Wâdy Kelt*, but Jerome notes the existence of the name north of Jericho. His identification of Ebal and Gerizim as being in the same neighbourhood has been enlarged upon in a former paper (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1876).

A few other important errors may still be added, including the supposition that Emmaus Nicopolis was the Emmaus of the Gospel, and that Makkedah was eight miles east of Eleutheropolis, or in the hills of Judea. It is also inexplicable how Jerome can suppose Engannim of Judah to have been close to Bethel, yet he places it there evidently at the modern '*Ain Kânûa*. Gedor, again, a town in the hills near Hebron, he supposes to be Gedrus, which from the distances given is evidently the present *Jedireh*, not far from Gezer and Ekron in the plains, and probably identical with the ancient Gederah of Judah.

From this weight of testimony there is no escape. It shows clearly that the Christian writers of the fifth century were treating of a country strange to them, and of a topography which had been at least partially lost. Though the greatest scholar, and perhaps one of the ablest men

of his time, St. Jerome was evidently puzzled in regard to the whole question of the ancient topography, and unable to settle many important points in spite of a complete acquaintance with the country as then existing.

In the Onomasticon we see tradition not made, but in the process of making. The method by which the early fathers endeavoured to arrive at an understanding of Scripture geography was apparently not far different from that employed by modern writers; the miraculous discovery of sacred sites dates later, and has no place in the writings of Jerome, and the main difference which we detect is that when a father of the church jumped at a conclusion not strictly warranted by his facts, his opinion was generally adopted without being subject to the very strict criticism of our day.

It is scarcely to be expected that the reliability of tradition would increase with the lapse of time. The period between the early centuries of church history and the Crusades was one of trouble in Palestine. From the era of the Hegira down to 1100 A.D., the opportunities of studying the geography of the country were few and small. The early travellers, Arculphus and Willibald in the eighth, and St. Bernhard in the ninth century, followed nearly the same route, and treat principally of the more important sites which it is not proposed now to touch on. One thing only is very remarkable, namely, the gradual increase in the number of sacred places; Arculphus only notices about half a dozen sites in Jerusalem, but St. Bernhard, little more than a century later, mentions nearly twenty, and Sæwulf in 1102 adds many more. In crusading times there were upwards of twenty churches in Jerusalem, all supposed to mark sacred spots; but the only one which can claim an antiquity at all equal to that of the church of the Anastasis, appears to be that of the Tomb of the Virgin, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

With the advent of the Crusaders we enter upon a new era, and upon a traditional topography of a new and entirely different character. There is now no doubt that we deal with men entirely strange to the country, and very ill acquainted with the contents of the Bible.

It is here for the first time that we meet with undoubted instances of *transference of tradition*, and as this question has an important bearing on many disputed points, some instances may be of value.

The best known instance of such transference relates to the site of the martyrdom of St. Stephen. A very early tradition fixed this on the north side of Jerusalem, outside the Damascus Gate, and near the spot where the ruins of the crusading Asnerie have lately been recovered; as late as the time of Sæwulf (1102 A.D.) the site was unchanged, and William of Tyre still places it north of the city; but St. Stephen's Gate is now shown on the east of Jerusalem.

More important places were in the same way transferred to new sites, and the most remarkable case is that of Capernaum. To Jerome, Arculphus, Willibald, and other early travellers, Capernaum was known as situated on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, but in 1160 A.D.,

Benjamin of Tudela places it at a site which he calls Kefr Thaneum between Haifa and Cæsarea. I have already shown (*Quarterly Statement*, Jan. 1876) that the distances given by him fix this site at the modern *Kefr Lam*, which is probably thus a corruption of *Kefr Nam* or Capernaum. Kefr Thaneum is probably the Kefar Tanhum of the Talmud, a name somewhat resembling the Talmudic Kefar Nahum, which seems undoubtedly to be identical with Capernaum. As early, however, as the time of Jerome the H had been changed to *ein* in this word, for he translates Capernaum "villa pulcherrima" (NAM), instead of "town of consolation" (NAHUM).

We find the same site for Capernaum again noticed in the Itinerary of Richard I. with circumstances which still further serve to fix it as situate at Kefr Lam, for the king, after halting there, proceeds to the "house of narrow ways," evidently situate at the point south of the village, where a rocky passage has been cut through to give a communication between the plain and the shore separated by a sandstone ridge. Further on in the same narrative we find Maon mentioned among the castles in the maritime plain destroyed in 1191 A.D. by Saladin, and Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela informs us that Maon was the same place as Capernaum. The remains of a fine crusading fortress are still visible in the modern village of Kefr Lam.

This site thus furnishes us with a double instance of transference. Maon was known to be close to Carmel, the city of Judah, where Nabal lived, the true site (*Maia*) was well known to Jerome, who carefully distinguishes between the town of Nabal (now *Kirmil*) south of Hebron and Mount Carmel, where Elijah offered his sacrifice. This distinction was unknown to the Crusaders who, being only acquainted with the mountain, were forced to transfer the site of Maon a distance of nearly one hundred miles, to a place in the vicinity of Mount Carmel.

Tyre and Sarepta, in like manner, were transferred southwards to the very same neighbourhood. Sarepta is correctly placed in the Onomasticon in the neighbourhood of Sidon "by the public road," evidently at the real site of the modern *Sarṣat*, and Tyre was known to William of Tyre, who was bishop there for many years. Yet this author, in company with other mediæval writers, speaks of "ancient Tyre" as a site south of Caïpha and seemingly the modern *Atlit*, the crusading Castellum Perigrinorum. This curious mistake necessitated two others. Porphyron was a town near Tyre, and is accordingly placed by William of Tyre at Caïpha, which was supposed by the Crusaders to have taken its name from Caiaphas the high priest, or from Cephas, the second name of St. Peter. Sarepta also was to be sought near Tyre, and we still find a second village called *Sarṣat* immediately north of *Kefr Lam*.

Thus Maon, from the extreme south of Palestine, Capernaum from the east, and Tyre and Sarepta from the north, were all brought within a few miles of one another; and as the Castellum Perigrinorum was the principal landing-place for pilgrims, one is tempted to suppose that

motives of expediency had something to do in the matter, as neither Capernaum nor Maon lay in country then held by the Crusaders, and as the pilgrims would naturally be anxious to visit sites of so much interest.

Instances of such confusions may be multiplied indefinitely. Thus the crusading maritime fortress of Arsuf, the ancient Apollonia, was supposed to represent Ashero Antipatris, and even Ashdod, the true sites of which were all known to Eusebius and Jerome, all at considerable distances apart.

Benjamin of Tudela places Keilah of Judah, a city west of Hebron, at Caco (now *Kakûn*), some sixty miles from the real site, now *Kilah*, which seems to have been known to Jerome.

Nob, the city of the priests, was apparently unknown to Jerome, who confuses it with Nobah (Judg. viii. 11), but to the Crusaders it was pointed out as identical with Betenoble (*Beit Nûba*), in a situation quite irreconcilable with the requirements of the Scripture narratives.

Two still more glaring errors are to be found in William of Tyre, who places Gath at Ibelin, now *Yebnah*, the ancient Jabneel, whilst he identifies *Beit Jibrin* with Beersheba, explaining its modern name to mean "house of Gabriel." There is still in *Beit Jibrin* a sacred place called *Mûkâm en Neby Jibrîl*, "station of the Prophet Gabriel," close to the remains of a crusading church, but this interpretation and the consequent connection with Gabriel are evidently late, for the older form of the name found in the Talmud is Beto-Gabra. Both Beersheba and Gath were known and fixed at their true sites in the time of Jerome.

In conclusion, we find at this period the site of Adullam transferred to its present position (*Mûghâret M'asa*) from the true situation known to Eusebius.

It is evident, therefore, that a broad distinction must be made between the statements of the early Christian writers and the wild guesses of the mediæval chroniclers.

The question of Jewish mediæval writings is one entirely apart from that as yet treated, and as we have already seen, the Jews in the time of Jerome knew the real site of Ajalon, though their hatred of the Samaritans induced them to transfer those of Ebal and Gerizim to the neighbourhood of Jericho. It must be remembered that we have in their case to deal with an indigenous population which never entirely lost its hold on the country, and with a tradition in which there is no break. In the Talmud we get not a traditional but an actual topography; and in the travels of Jewish pilgrims we find a thorough acquaintance with Talmudic characters and topography, which gives to their statements a reality and value not possessed by Christian chronicles.

Immediately after the fall of Bether (120 A.D.) the Sanhedrim fixed its seat at Jamina, and afterwards successively at Ausha (*Hûsheh*, C. R. C.) Shafaram (*Shefa 'Amer*), Beth Shearim, Sepphoris, and Tiberias. By

200 A.D. Rabbi Judah, the saint, had committed the Mishna to writing, closing the list of the doctors called Tanaim; by 300 A.D. the Jerusalem Talmud was complete, and by 500 A.D. the Talmud of Babylon was finished by the last of the Amoraim. Thus we have an unbroken series of writers till after the date of Jerome, and their casual references to places and natural features are of the highest value because only incidentally introduced.

The Talmudic topography is that of Palestine as actually then existing, but instances of *identifications* do occur, notably in commenting on the list of the towns of Naphtali and Zebulun which are identified as follows:—

Josh. xix. 33.					Tal. Jer. Megilla, 70a.
Heleph ..	..	..	..	..	= Heleph.
Allon	}	..	..	..	= Aialin.
Bezaanaim		(Bessilm, C. R. C.)			= Agnia Kadesh.
Adami (ed Dámeh)	..	..	..	..	= Damim (Damûn).
Nekeb (Nakib, C. R. C.)	..	..	..	..	= Zedatha.
Jabneel ..	..	..	..	..	= Kaphar Jamah.
Lakum ..	..	..	..	..	= Lekim.
Josh. xix. 15.					
Kattath ..	..	..	..	..	= Katunith (Kateineh).
Nehallal ..	..	..	..	..	= Mahlul (M'alûl).
Shimron ..	..	..	..	..	= Simunieh (Sammûnieh).
Idalah (ed Dâlieh, C. R. C.)	..	..	..	..	= Hiriah.
Bethlehem (B. Lahm)	..	..	..	..	= Bethlehem Zeriah.
Josh. xix. 35.					
Ziddim ..	..	..	..	..	= Kaphar Hitia (Hattin).
Zer ..	..	..	..	..	(near) Desmikah Lah.
Hammath (el Hûmmâm)	..	..	..	..	= Hamatha.
Rakkath (Tuberîyeh)	..	..	..	..	= Tiberias (Tuberîyeh).
Chinnereth (Beit Jenn)	..	..	..	..	= Genezar.

This comparison is of value as showing that many sites had been lost even to the Jews as early as 300 A.D., and that the nomenclature had undergone a change, for many of the identifications here enumerated are to all appearance correct, though others are seemingly wrong.

Passing on to the Jewish mediæval travellers we find statements fully in accordance with those of the Talmud. Thus, R. Samuel Bar Simson states that the synagogue of Arbela was built by R. Nitai, and in the Mishna we find Arbela noticed as the native place of R. Nitai, who lived about 200 B.C.

The Jews of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries visited Palestine chiefly on account of the tombs of their ancestors. Hence, in their writings we find constant notice of the tombs of many worthies both of Biblical and also of later times, and most of these sites remain to the present day. They also give the names of the builders of various synagogues, and there seems no reason to doubt the accuracy of their

statements. Thus we learn that no less than twenty-four synagogues; mostly in Galilee, were built by R. Simeon bar Jochai about 120 A.D., among which were those at Kefr Birim, at el Jish, and at Meirun, probably the ones visited by Major Wilson, as this date agrees with the opinion formed by architects as to the character of the work. Two others are noticed at Sasa and Tiria which have still to be discovered, and it is not impossible that others of the known synagogues are to be attributed to the same founder.

As regards the tombs the Jewish information appears also to be reliable. Thus at Gath-Hepher, which he identifies correctly, Isaac Chelo mentions the tomb of Jonas now visible in the centre of the village. It is remarkable, however, that Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, a little earlier, places Gath Hepher at Caipha.

The tombs of Joseph at Balata, near Shechem, and of Hillel and Shammai at Meirun, are still shown as described by these mediæval Jewish pilgrims; the sepulchre of Samson at Zoreah, is no doubt the present *Mukâm of Sheikh Samit*, and it will in all probability prove equally easy to recover the numerous sepulchres in Upper and Lower Galilee mentioned in these itineraries, many of which are of considerable interest.

The deductions which it appears to me may safely be drawn from the facts detailed in the foregoing pages, are simple:—

1st. As regards early Christian topography, and especially that of the Onomasticon, the authority of the writers is not sufficient when unsupported by other evidences to establish the identity of a Scriptural site.

2nd. Crusading topography subsequent to 1100 A.D., is so hopelessly obscured by the ignorance of priests and pilgrims alike, and by the continual transference of sites from their true place known by the early Christians into new positions, quite irreconcilable with the requirements of the original narrative, that it must be considered entirely valueless in fixing the real sites.

3rd. The mediæval Jewish pilgrims appear, as a rule, to have had a much more accurate knowledge both of the country and of the Bible, their assertions are borne out by existing remains, and are in accordance with the Scriptural narrative, and the indications contained in their writings frequently appear to be of the greatest value.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

27th October, 1876.

SAUL'S JOURNEY TO ZUPH.

1 Sam. ix. and x.

THE wanderings of the hero “who, seeking asses, found a kingdom,” form one of the most curious puzzles in Scriptural topography, for the starting-point is unknown, the point to which he returned doubtful, and

the intermediate places, though noted with much apparent exactitude, have not been recognised as identical with any well-known or important sites. The following notes derived from the Survey may, however, prove interesting to those who have given attention to the subject:—

1. The starting-point was Saul's home. Kish, his father, was a Benjamite, and it seems almost certain that he must have inhabited Zelah, a Benjamite city (Josh. xviii. 28), for here we find later the "sepulchre of Kish," in which the bones of his descendants were interred (2 Sam. xxi. 14).

We find, however, immediately afterwards, a town or a district known as Gibeah of Saul as being the home of the king. It may be, therefore, that this place, called Gabaoth Saule by Josephus, is the starting-point. The question is too long to enter upon at present, but as it appears that Saul first passed through Mount Ephraim, the starting-point may be generally stated as towards the northern limits of the territory of Benjamin. The consecutive order of the list in the book of Joshua would seem perhaps to place Zelah (more properly translated *Tzel'a*) in the northern part of the land of Benjamin, and it may perhaps be identified with a large ruin called *Khûrbet Sh'ab Salâh*, "ruin of the ridge of Zelah," the last word being a natural equivalent of the Hebrew *Tzel'a*. This place is only four miles north-west of Jeb'a (Geba of Benjamin), and there are strong arguments in favour of identifying Jeb'a with Gabaoth Saule, which need not, however, be discussed here.

2. On leaving his home at Zelah, or Gibeah, Saul first passed through Mount Ephraim (ix. 4). According to Josephus (*Antiq.* vi. 4, 1), having first sought over the territory of his own tribe, he went over that of other tribes. This would seem to make his first direction northwards.

3. Leaving Mount Ephraim, Saul passes through the land of Shalisha (ix. 4). It is only natural to connect this name with that of Baal Shalisha or Beth Shalisha (2 Kings iv. 42), and this place may be fixed as at the present *Sirîsia*, thirteen miles north of Lydda, from entirely independent considerations. (See *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1876, p. 69.)

4. Leaving this district, Saul comes to the land of Shalim (or "foxes"). This might be identical with the "land of Shual" (of the fox), near Ophrah (1 Sam. xiii. 17); but this seems irreconcilable with the last indication, and the land of Shalim was not in the land of Benjamin (comp. verse 4, lower down), which the land of Shual evidently was. Gesenius, in giving the meaning of the word (S.V. Shalim), suggests a more probable identification, namely, that the territory of Shaalabim ("foxes"), a city of Dan (Josh. xix. 42), is here intended. This place has been fixed at *Selbît*, south of Lydda, which gives a direct journey southwards of about a day's duration.

5. Saul next enters the land of *Yemeni* ("Benjamites," A.V.), and passes through it. *Selbît*, it may be remarked, is not far from the western border of Benjamin, which would be crossed in journeying to Zuph if identified as below.

6. Saul arrives at the land of Zuph, the farthest point of his journey,

and here encounters Samuel at a certain city, the name of which is not given (ix. 5, 6).

The meaning of the word Zuph has not been determined with certainty, the Targum on the passage, however, connects the name with the root *Zephah*, meaning "to shine," and hence "to be conspicuous," whence come the words Zephathah, Zophim, Zephu, and Mizpeh. In other targums the words Zophim and Mizpeh are used indiscriminately in speaking of one place, both words being applicable to a "watch-tower," or city in an elevated situation. Zuph was, however, the name of a man, and it is not impossible that the land of Zuph may have been named after him (1 Sam. i. 1). In the first case the city in the land of Zuph would possibly be Mizpeh, in the second it would be Bethlehem the home of Zuph. The former identification appears to me the more probable for the following reasons.

1st. That the Targum derives the word from the root *Zephah*.

2nd. That on the departure of Saul, Samuel immediately gathers Israel together in Mizpeh (x. 17).

3rd. That the city is evidently one of those *visited* by Samuel (see ix. 12), and cannot be Bethel or Gilgal (see 1 Sam. vii. 16).

4th. That placing Mizpeh near to Kirjath Jearim, the land of Zuph would be reached immediately on leaving the land of Benjamin. Mizpeh may be fixed as in this station on entirely different grounds. (See *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1876, p. 149.)

Zuph has already been fixed as in this neighbourhood (see Murray's new map); but the identification with *Sôba* is open to the objection that there is no good authority for supposing the letters F and B ever to be confused.

The root *Zephah* is represented by two Arabic roots, *Safu* (whence *Mesuffa*, "a place of view"), meaning "bright, shining, conspicuous," and *Shâf* (whence the exclamation *Shûf*, "look"), having also the meaning, "shining, looking out, viewing." Thus the modern *Khûrbet Shûfa* represents the Hebrew Zophim or Mizpeh, with which I have proposed to identify it on account of its position near Ebenezer and Kirjath Jearim. The name *Shûfa* probably still denotes a district, for there is a hill called *Râs Shûfa* about two miles north of *Khûrbet Shûfa*. This district, I would suggest, may be the land of Zuph. There is, however, another site which might also claim to be identified as Zuph, viz., the village of *Sûfa*, ten miles west of Bethlehem; and this position, indeed, fits in yet better with the subsequent part of the journey.

There is only one valid objection to these views. Josephus gives the name of the city as Ramah. Hence it has been supposed to be Ramathaim Zophim, which is here intended. Ramathaim Zophim was, however, in Mount Ephraim, and so not far from Zelah, in which case it seems impossible that Saul on his return journey should ever arrive at Rachel's sepulchre.

There is no space here to discuss the value of this statement by Josephus. The whole of his account (*Antiq.* vi. 4) is shorter and less

detailed than that in the Old Testament, and the order of the events differs. It will be generally allowed that the history of contemporary events given in the Wars and later books of the Antiquities, gives indications to be placed in quite a different category to those of the earlier books. The Survey gives many opportunities of forming a judgment as to the value of Josephus's descriptions in such cases as the sites of Herodium, Masada, and Jotopata. In some cases it seems impossible to reconcile Josephus with the Mishnic doctors, and in these cases the Talmud is often the better guide.

7. Leaving Samuel, Saul first arrives at "Rachel's sepulchre, in the border of Benjamin at Zelzah" (x. 2). Supposing this to be the modern *Kubbet Rahîl*, near Bethlehem, which Saul might have reached in journeying to the main road along the watershed, two questions arise.

1st. How can this monument be called "in the border of Benjamin," being four miles south of that boundary in the territory of Judah?

2nd. Where was *Zelzah*? supposing it to be the name of a town, for no such name has been found anywhere near Bethlehem.

It is possible that the reading of the Vulgate, which renders *Zelzah* by the words "in meridie" (towards the south), gives the best explanation, and that we should read Rachel's sepulchre towards the south, either of Zuph, or of Saul's route, or of the border of Benjamin.

8. Supposing Saul to be returning to his own home, it is natural to suppose the plain of Tabor (x. 3) which follows to be the plain south of Jerusalem and north of Rachel's sepulchre, now called the *Meidân*.

9. The end of Saul's wanderings appears to be reached at a place called "the hill of God," where is the garrison of the Philistines (x. 5). This place, *Gibeah-ha-Elohim* in the Hebrew, appears to have been so called because it contained a "high place" (see verse 13).

In another verse it is called simply *Gabatha* ("the hill," A.V., verse 10), and Josephus also calls it *Gabatha*. It would seem that Saul's uncle lived here (verse 14), which would lead us to identify it with Gibeah of Saul. It was not improbably on the road to Gilgal where Saul next went, which would seem to place it at Geba of Benjamin, and it was a Philistine garrison, which points in the same direction, for immediately after we find Jonathan smiting "the garrison of the Philistines," which was in Geba (1 Sam. xiii. 3). After the great meeting at Mizpeh, we find that Saul "went home to Gibeah" (x. 26).

The outcome of these various expressions seems to point to Saul's return to Gibeah of Saul, and to the identity of this town with Geba of Benjamin. There are many independent arguments which lead to the identification of these two places as the modern *Jeb'a*, which may, however, be reserved for the present.

C. R. C.

ATTEMPT TO TRACE THE BOUNDARIES OF EPHRAIM, MANASSEH, AND ISSACHAR.

THE boundaries of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh have not, so far as I know, been yet laid down in accordance with the outline given of them in the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters of Joshua. In every Biblical atlas that I have seen they are always drawn from side to side—*i.e.*, from the sea to the Jordan, in a sort of parallel lines, whereas it does not appear to me that any of them touched the Jordan at all, except, it may be, in a single point. Having given this subject considerable attention, I have obtained results, in singular conformity with the description of Joshua that traces out the entire outline of these tribes, and have discovered some curious aspects of the case that have hitherto escaped observation. Of course I have not been able to determine the borders with perfect geographical certainty at every point, as the topography of the country has undergone such changes in the course of between three and four thousand years, and the names of places have either disappeared or been so altered that they cannot now be easily identified. The great natural features of the country, however, remain, along with a few of the more permanent ancient names, by which we are enabled to some extent to grope our way. With the aid of these, and a more accurate reading of the book of Joshua, I hope to be able to give such an account of these two tribes as to clear up this part of the map, throw some new light upon the lot of Issachar, and meet a difficulty that has so long been felt in the geography of Palestine.

(1.) JOSEPH.

The southern border of Joseph is laid down in Joshua (xvi. 1) with considerable clearness, so that it is not difficult to follow the description, even though several of the landmarks are lost. It is as follows:—

“And the lot of the children of Joseph fell from Jordan by Jericho, unto the waters of Jericho on the east, to the wilderness that goeth up from Jericho throughout Mount Bethel. And it goeth out from Bethel to Luz, and passeth along unto the borders of Archi-Ataroth, and goeth down westward to the coast of Japhleti, unto the coast of Bethhoron the Nether, and to Gezer; and the out-goings thereof are at the sea.”

Starting from a point on the Jordan nearly opposite to Jericho, this line passes to the north of that place, ascends the ravine on the north of Jebel Kürüntil, passing the fountain of 'Ain Doch, the ancient “Dagon” of the Maccabees, and pursues its course through the mountain passes till it comes out near to Bethel and Luz, which it reaches on the south of them. Luz and Bethel may indeed be regarded as the same, seeing they either lay contiguous to each other, or were actually united. From Bethel the border proceeds westward by Archi-Ataroth to the coast of Japhleti (places now unknown, but lying somewhere on the ridge that runs between the Wadies Bûdrûs and Suleiman) till it reaches

the end of that ridge on a very prominent hill lying to the south of the Nether Bethhoron. From this place, which commands one of the finest views of the great western plain, the border line descended into the course of the Merj-Ibn-Omeir, touching Gezer on the Wady Suleiman, which it followed on to the sea.

This tracing is corroborated by the sketch which Joshua has given of the northern border of Benjamin, which is almost exactly the same as far as it goes (Josh. xviii. 11).

“And the lot of the tribe of the children of Benjamin came up according to their families : and the coast of their lot came forth between the children of Judah and the children of Joseph. And the border on the north side was from Jordan ; and the border went up to the side of Jericho on the north side, and went up through the mountains westward ; and the goings out thereof were at the wilderness of Bethaven. And the border went over from thence toward Luz, to the side of Luz, which is Bethel, southward. And the border descended to Ataroth-adar, near the hill that (lieth on) the south side of the Nether Bethhoron. And the border was drawn (thence) and turned southward,” &c.

With a little variety of description, this line is identical with the former so far, and the variation only helps to fix the track laid down above with the greater precision. Commencing at Jordan, as before, the border passes Jericho on the north, and runs up the deep defile before described, till it comes out upon the high plateau of “the wilderness of Bethaven.” Here it proceeds to Luz, and passes it on the south side, descending westward to Ataroth-adar, which is clearly the same with Archi-ataroth. Without referring to Japhleti, the description carries the line at once “to the hill that lieth on the south side of the Nether Bethhoron ;” or rather, Ataroth-adar is so near this hill that it is connected with it. But here the boundary of Benjamin takes a sweep to the south, to form the western limit of that tribe. It is fortunate that the two Bethhorons have been preserved to this day, and help us easily and at once to decide where we are. The hill that lieth to the south of *Beit Ur et-Tahta* was ascended by Dr. Robinson, who has given us a very satisfactory account of its commanding position. It abuts upon the great western plain like a promontory, and takes in an extensive view of Ramleh, Lydda, Ajalon, and other places of less note, while it stands between the two Bethhorons, at the head of the famous pass, the *descent* or *ascent* of *Bethhoron*, so famous in Biblical story. Dr. Robinson in his ascent of it found, on one of its ridges, the remains of what he supposed to be *an ancient castle*, that seemed to have guarded the pass, and still *crowned* the brow of the hill. This is probably the “Ataroth,” *the crown*, or Ataroth-adar, the “*glorious crown*,” looking forth so beautifully over the western lowlands, and forming a conspicuous ornament to the hills of Ephraim.

(2.) EPHRAIM.

So far, then, these two lines are the same, and so far we have a well-defined base laid down for our future investigations. We therefore take

up next the description of the lot of Ephraim, which lies to the north of this base, and which has not been so clearly defined.

Josh. xvi. 5 : "And the border of the children of Ephraim according to their families was thus : even the border of their inheritance on the east side (was) Ataroth-adar unto the Upper Bethhoron. And the border went out toward the sea (west) to Michmethah on the north side ; and the border turned about eastward unto Taanath-shiloh, and passed by it on the east to Janohah ; and it went down from Janohah to Ataroth, and to Naarath, and came to Jericho, and went out at Jordan.

"From Tappuah the border went out westward unto the river Kanah, and the goings out thereof were at the sea. This is the inheritance of the tribe of the children of Ephraim by their families.

"And the separate cities for the children of Ephraim were among the inheritance of the children of Manasseh, all the cities with their villages. And they drave not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer ; but the Canaanites dwell among the Ephraimites unto this day, and serve under tribute."

The commencement of this survey seems to be a fragment of a fuller description of the southern border of Ephraim, containing only two references, and these to places about the centre of the line,* Ataroth-addar and Upper Bethhoron. The LXX. seem to have felt this, and they fill up the account by saying that the boundary went on to Gezer, and then to the sea. We can thus make nothing of it but to congratulate ourselves that it is of no importance, as we have a double description of the line already laid down. The survey properly begins in the next verse, which says, "And the border on the north side went out *on the west* † to Michmethah." Michmethah, we are told, in the account of Manasseh's border, "lieth before ‡ Shechem," so that we must take this for our starting-point ; and as this place has not yet been identified, we must fix it as we can from the language of the text, and the tribal position of Shechem. First, then, it is near to Shechem, and lieth before it, that is, in sight of it. If עֶל־פָּנָיו meant always "on the east of," Michmethah would have lain on that side of Shechem ; but as it has this meaning only at times, we are not obliged to identify Michmethah with el-Mükhna. From the fact that Shechem was within the tribe of Ephraim, and was its chief Levitical city, we must place Michmethah on the west of it, and perhaps this is the meaning of the phrase "the border went out on the west," as if it had originally been "the west§ of Shechem." If we place this starting-point on any other side, it will throw Shechem, as we shall soon see, out of its own tribe. Take, then, for Michmethah, the site of any one of the many small towns to the *west* or north-west of Nablus, say Zawata, and from it carry the border round to the east along the back

* The original description, which seems also to have run from west to east.

† הַיָּמָה seaward or westward.

‡ עֶל־פָּנָיו before, in view of, in front of.

§ Or rather that Michmethah was at the west end of this east-going line.

of Mount Ebal, and then south-east in the direction of Yanûn, which represents Janohah; for "the border *went about* from Michmethah eastward unto Ta'anath-shiloh, and passed by it on the east to Janohah." The site of Ta'anath-shiloh may have been about where the modern Salim stands, and as Shiloh in the one case and Salem in the other are closely cognate and almost identical, we cannot say but that they are the same. From Janohah, the border touches next at Ataroth, an eminence somewhere probably on the *Wady Fusail*, near to its head: and then it passes Na'arath and comes to Jericho. Na'arath seems to be the same place that is called *Naaran* in 1 Chron. vii. 28, on the east of Bethel, as Gezer was on the west, in the tribe of Ephraim. Jerome mentions Naaratha as a town five miles north of Jericho, just about the place where we should expect to find it; but Josephus is still more decided, for he mentions once and again a town called Neara, to the north of Jericho, supplied with abundance of water, the half of which Archelaus diverted from that village into the plain to irrigate the palm-trees that he had planted at the palace he had rebuilt with great magnificence at Jericho. These notices leave us in little doubt that this place was somewhere about "*Ras el-'Ain*," which is just about five miles to the north of Jericho, and pours a considerable stream into the *Wady Nawayimch*.

From Na'arath the boundary "came to Jericho;" but עָמַד here translated "came," has a much more definite meaning. It means that this boundary line *touched, met, and struck* into the line that came from Jordan and formed the southern base line of the tribe, running out hence with it to the Jordan.

We have thus traced the eastern half of the north border of Ephraim, and must now return to where we started near to Shechem, and take up the remaining western half. This is pretty distinctly laid down by Joshua with only a single difficulty, and that at the outset. Instead of commencing from Michmethah he begins with En-Tappuah, but this place he tells us, in the description of Manasseh's border, was a little way to the south of Michmethah, as we shall by-and-by see. We must therefore seek a site in this direction that will answer to the character of En-Tappuah which has disappeared from this part of the map. It will not, however, be difficult to find such a fountain as we require, for there are several hereabout, almost any of which will answer. There is, four miles south of Shechem, the fountain of *el-Mishna*, pouring its waters into the plain so called. A mile and a half, or thereabouts, farther south, is the fountain *'Ain Abûz*, and beyond it a little way *Jem-'ain*, but that of Abûz appears to be the more probable site of Tappuah, besides the seeming etymological reference to the name.

From Tappuah the boundary of Ephraim ran south-west into the brook Kanah, which is not above two miles from it. This brook has been well identified by the retention of its ancient name, so that here we are again certain of our course out to the sea, which formed the terminus of this border

(3.) MANASSEH.

Having now followed the outline of the tribe of Ephraim, so clearly defined by Joshua, we must next trace that of its confière Manasseh. This tribe lay to the north of Ephraim, but instead of crossing the country from east to west, as it is usually made to do, it occupied only the half of that space, and lay along the sea to the west, bounded on the east by the range of Mount Carmel. The description is as follows:—

Josh. xvii. 7 : “And the coast of Manasseh was from Asher to Michmethah, that lieth before Shechem ; and the border went along on the right hand unto the inhabitants of En-tappuah. [Now Manasseh had the *land* of Tappuah ; but Tappuah on the border of Manasseh belonged to the children of Ephraim.] And the coast descended unto the river Kanah, southward of the river ; these cities of Ephraim are among the cities of Manasseh : the coast of Manasseh also was on the north side of the river, and the outgoings of it were at the sea ; southward it was Ephraim's, and northward it was Manasseh's, and the sea is his border ; and they met together in Asher in the north, and in Issachar in the east.”

The boundary of Manasseh is here described as commencing from Asher, which is not a *town*, as has so often been supposed, but the *lot* of Asher with which that of Manasseh bordered in the north, as the concluding words of Joshua above indicate. The tribe of Asher would seem to have embraced a portion of the coast south of Carmel as far as the royal city of Dor, for Dor was given out of Asher to Manasseh. The border of Asher on the south was probably the *Nahr Zurka*, if not a lesser stream nearer to Dor, and passed up over Carmel, crossing the highest ridge about the famed site of el-Maharaka. It was from about this spot we think the border of Manasseh commenced ; and from this it ran along the ridges of the range west-south-west, in a direct line for Michmethah, that famous landmark on the west of Shechem, a distance of at least thirty-five miles. The line of division now went, we are told, “along on the right hand,” this is, *to the south*, “unto the inhabitants of En-tappuah.” This, as we said above, clearly defines the position of En-tappuah, and may yet serve to identify it. Joshua here inserts an explanatory note with great precision, which may be also useful, that the district of Tappuah lay within the lot of Manasseh, but the town of Tappuah itself lay within that of Ephraim. That city and its territory were thus divided by the boundary line, but the fact is carefully noted that there might be no division between the tribes in regard to its possession. If the town of Teffuh is ever discovered, this singular precision of Joshua will show by it the line of demarcation. We have already indicated *Ain Abâz* as the probable site of Tappuah ; but if another fountain, and one nearer in name to that of Tappuah, should turn up, the point will be determined. From this place the border line bends down west to the brook Kanah, as we have shown above in Ephraim's northern border, and then it follows the course of that tor-

rent to the sea. From Michmetha westward the border of the two tribes is the same, and yet there is a curious legal-like reiteration of terms, as if there was some risk of misunderstanding this part of the line which nature itself has drawn, for it seems that this brook is deep and rugged in its banks, so as to form a very marked boundary. "The coast," says Joshua, "descended unto the river Kanah, southward of the river; these cities of Ephraim are among the cities of Manasseh." The punctuation here is not very certain, and the descent of Manasseh's border to the south of the stream is as little so; for it seems to be contradicted by what follows; while the expression, "these cities," would seem to imply that they had been named, but have been somehow lost from the account, so that the words stand meaningless and unconnected. The passage that follows is clear and decisive as to the natural boundary here between the two tribes, "the coast of Manasseh also was on the north side of the river, and the outgoings of it were at the sea: southward it was Ephraim's, and northward it was Manasseh's, and the sea is his border." This of course does not imply that there were drawn two border lines, but merely that the lot of Manasseh lay north of the river, and that of Ephraim south. The river was the border.

A passage in the account of Ephraim's border line, to which we did not advert when that tribe was under discussion, appropriately comes in here. It is—

"And the separate cities for the children of Ephraim were among the inheritance of the children of Manasseh, all the cities with their villages. And they drove not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer; but the Canaanites dwell among the Ephraimites unto this day, and serve under tribute."

The statement in the description of Manasseh's border is rather indefinite,—"these cities of Ephraim are among the cities of Manasseh"—it not being clear on which side the cities lay, and to whom they belonged; but in the passage quoted above it is perfectly plain. They were cities and their suburbs within the lot of Manasseh that belonged to Ephraim; but, not being named, we are left in utter ignorance about them still. We know that in the lot of Issachar and Asher there were four cities and their surroundings that were assigned to Manasseh which exceedingly increased the territory and importance of the latter tribe, viz., Bethshan, Ta'anach, Megiddo, and Dor, with their towns. The three former were taken from the tribe of Issachar, and Dor, the latter, from that of Asher. By the addition of Dor to the lot of Manasseh, it is probable that the most, if not the whole, of that portion of Asher which lay to the south of Carmel was given to Manasseh so as to run their boundary line along the entire ridge of that range.

There remains only one sentence of the description of Manasseh's border to be considered, but it is one of some importance, and which has never before been attended to.

"And they met together in Asher in the north and in Issachar in the east."

The border of Manasseh marched in the north with that of Asher, and in the east with that of Issachar. "They met together" [יָצְאוּ יַחְדָּם] is the very same word that we found before, describing the coincidence of Ephraim's north border in the south border line at Jericho, where they formed one; so here it singularly occurs again to describe one of the most striking and conclusive features of the sketch we have given of these tribes.

(4.) ISSACHAR.

The outline of the above two tribes marks out to some extent the lot of the tribe of Issachar. It lay to the east of them, along the entire line of the Jordan, from the sea of Chinneroth on the north to nearly the Salt Sea on the south, where the border of Benjamin had a small part of it, from the Wady Kelt to the north bay of the sea. Issachar, as a tribe, is not described by Joshua, who only mentions the names of towns contained in it. It did not require description, as the containing boundaries of Ephraim and Manasseh on the west, with the River Jordan on the east, sufficiently defined it. It was of a triangular form, having its apex at Jericho and its base to the north of the plain of Jezreel, where it was met by the border of Zabulon, and where its chief cities lay. It contained thus a long tract of territory, but as this was for the most part wilderness, its dimensions were much greater than its worth, while three great and fertile districts were taken from it and given to Manasseh.

Such is the account we have drawn from the simple reading of Joshua, and we have followed that reading closely, without bending, as we think, a single word to serve a private purpose. The outline, if correct, gives an entirely new configuration to these three tribes, relieves a very intricate and important part of Scripture of the cloud that rested on it, and may, we hope, help to open up the way to a better delineation of the other northern tribes that still remain so confused and undetermined.

DUNSE, 1st November, 1876.

DANIEL KERR.

NOTES ON THE ABOVE.

There can be no doubt that the general direction of the boundaries is correctly understood by the author of the above paper, and that the arrangement will be new to the general public. The Survey allows of our throwing further light on the details. The following seem to me the most important points to notice.

1. *Archi Ataroth*. The first word is considered by most scholars to be separate from the second, and to be the name of a tribe (the *Archites*, 2 Sam. xv. 32, &c.) derived from a place called *Arich*. I have already pointed out (*Quarterly Statement*, 1876, p. 184) that this is probably the modern 'Arîk, between Bethel and Bethhoron.

2. *Bethel and Luz*. The Hebrew has *Bethel Luzah* where the English has "Bethel to Luz." The Vulgate reads Bethel Luza, and the LXX. Βαιθηλ Λουζα. As we have also the direct assertion (Gen. xxxviii. 19)

that Bethel was "called Luz at the first," we cannot hesitate in coupling the two names together as referring to the modern *Bethel*.

3. *Gezer*. The author places this town on Wady Suleimān, apparently forgetting M. Ganneau's identification of Gezer at *Tell Jazer*, much farther south. It is possible that there was more than one Gezer: and, again, that the word Gezer in this passage may be a corruption. On the other hand, a position for Gezer near Jimzu, on Wady Suleimān, would fit well with the description of its position given in the Onomasticon; and it is impossible to bring the boundary of Ephraim farther south than Wady Suleimān, because the sites of Aijalon, Beth Hanan, Beneberak, Jehud, and El Tekoh, all towns of Dan, are pretty certainly fixed immediately south of this line. The Gezer, however, of this passage has not as yet been recovered. The proposed line agrees also well with Josh. xvii. 10.

4. *At-rith Aler*. The author has not apparently noticed my proposed identification of this site with the modern *et Tiri* (*Quarterly Statement*, 1875, p. 168) though agreeing with his view of the subject.

5. *Asher* *tan. Michmethah*. It is the opinion of Reland and others that the two names refer to one site, the second being a qualifying term. This considerably simplifies the understanding of Josh. xvii. 7. "Asher *tan* Michmethah that lieth before Shechem." The site has been identified in various places as *Tanisir*, or as *'Asirah* (Asher of the early Christians), north-east of Shechem, or as *'Asirah*, south of Shechem; but the last two names are spelt with the *Alif* and the *Sad*, and represent properly an ancient Ozer or Haror. The word Michmethah is of uncertain meaning, but is thought by some to mean "rocky" (Arabic *Mashmash*; compare Michmash and *Mashmash*, the *Kaf* for the Hebrew *Qaf*). There is immediately west of, and in sight of Shechem, a remarkable precipice crowned by a sacred building called *Shith es Sird* (spelt with the *Shad*). This seems to me the most probable site of this important point, and there are two indications which tend the same way: 1. The head of the "Brook Kanah" leads up towards this point as now laid down by us. 2. Ophrah of Abiezer (in the territory of Manasseh) is not improbably the modern *Fa'ris* immediately north of the same line (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1876, p. 197, *Q'f'rah*). We have not, however, any very definite idea of the north boundary of Ephraim, though it very probably ran close to Shechem, and so towards *Sall'a*, to the head of Wady Far'ah (the waters of Enon), which formed, there is good reason to suppose, the north-east division between Ephraim and Manasseh.

6. *Atarath*, in the Jordan Valley, is very possibly *Tell et Trini*, not far north of the next site.

7. *Nemath*. The question of the identification of this site will be found discussed in the "Notes from the Memoir," No. 25, of the present number of the *Quarterly*.

8. *En Tappuah*. The author does not notice Robinson's identification of this site with the present *'Atiq*, to which there is no valid objection, and the "Land of Tappuah," lying north of the large and important valley

called *Wady Far'ah*, would naturally belong to Manasseh, though the town was given to Ephraim. The word used to specify the position of this town does not strictly mean *on*, but rather *near* the boundary line, being near the north bank of the valley; the words, "on the right hand unto the inhabitants of En Tappuah," may be better rendered "south of the dwellers in En Tappuah;" it cannot properly be rendered "*southwards to*," nor is there any indication that the place was south of Shechem instead of east, as generally placed. The author appears to have had a difficulty in tracing the boundary line from Shechem to *Wady Kānah*, which is due solely to the latter having always been incorrectly laid down on the maps. It rises not far from Shechem. Its suggestion that *Jem'aîn* may be En Tappuah is unfortunate; the word has nothing to do with the word *En*, "a spring," but appears to be the dual of *Jem'a*, "a people," and it is very curious that the greater part of Mount Ephraim is called by the native peasantry *Belād el Jem'aîn*, "land of the two tribes."

9. *Taanath Shiloh* is not identified by Mr. Kerr; there are, however, two sites which may be proposed, viz., 1. *T'ana*, a ruined site north of *Y'amûn* (Januah). 2. *Thala*, east of 'Atāf, which appears to have been the Thema of the Onomasticon, being exactly the distance from Shechem noticed by Jerome.

None of these notes, though considerably strengthening the general correctness of the conclusions made in the above paper, at all interfere with the statement made by me in the paper on Samaritan Topography, that "we have no description of the boundaries of the two great Samaritan tribes *similar* to those for the northern and southern tribes." Mr. Kerr, as well as Mr. Grove (Bible Dict. s.v. Michmethah), agrees with me in the conclusion that the Book of Joshua "*is incomplete in the portion referring to Samaria*."

10. *Issachar*. It is probable that all the tribe boundaries were natural, and Issachar appears to have had plains and no hills. Thus, though the north and north-east boundaries of Manasseh are undescribed, the identifications of Remeth (*Rameh*), Tirzah (*Ticlasir*), Rablith (*Rāba*), Aner (*'Allar*), allow us to divide the two territories along a natural watershed.

11. *Asher*. The paper here noted does not remove the great difficulty of the passage, "and they met together in Asher on the north" (Josh. xvii. 10), though it does explain how the tribes met "in Issachar on the east." The enumeration of separate towns of Manasseh, "in Issachar and in Asher," is followed by a list of places all in the lot of Issachar, except Dor, which belonged, according to Josephus, to Dan. It is usual to suppose that a strip of coast between Carmel and the sea belonged to Asher, which thus touched upon Manasseh, but the following are the objections to such a supposition.

1st. The following identifications may be proposed for places on the northern boundary of Zebulun, the southern of Asher.

1. B. Dagon *Tell Dawk*, C. R. C.
2. Zebulon *Sh'ab*, C. R. C.

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----|----|----|--------------------------------|
| 3. Han. Neiel.. | .. | .. | .. | <i>Y'anûn</i> , C. R. C. |
| 4. Cabul .. | .. | .. | .. | <i>Kabûl</i> . |
| 5. <i>Shihor Libnath</i> .. | .. | .. | .. | <i>Wâdy Shaghûr</i> , C. R. C. |

These all point to the Belus as forming the boundary of Asher on the south.

2nd. Josephus states Asher to be bounded by Actippus (ez Zib) north of Acre.

3rd. Josephus states Carmel to have belonged to Zebulon.

4th. The town Idalah of Zebulon may be identified with *el Dâlich* on Carmel.

5th. The places on the south boundary of Zebulon, between the sea and the "river that is before Jokneam" (Josh. xix. 10-12), may be identified as existing between the sea and *Tell Keimûn* along the south boundary of Carmel as follows:—

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| 1. Maralah = the crusading Merla .. | = | <i>el Mezr'ah</i> , C. R. C. |
| 2. Dabbasheth (the hump) .. | = | <i>el Dâweibeh</i> , C. R. C. |
| 3. Jokneam .. | = | <i>Tell Keimûn</i> . |

If this view be correct, Asher was separated from Manasseh by the land of Zebulon.

It appears, therefore, more probable that the Asher intended in the present sentence (Josh. xvii. 10) is Asher-ham-Michmethah, which was situate at the north-west corner of the tribe of Ephraim.

The following is the complete list of places identified on the boundaries of Ephraim and Manasseh. It is very scanty as compared with the detailed account in the case of Judah, and it follows that the question of the boundaries between Ephraim, Manasseh, Issachar, and Zebulon (or Asher) is the most difficult topographical question in the Book of Joshua.

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|----|----|---------------------------------|
| 1. Waters of Jericho .. | .. | .. | <i>'Ain el Dâk</i> . |
| 2. Wilderness of Bethaven .. | .. | .. | |
| 3. Mount Bethel .. | .. | .. | |
| 4. Bethel Luzah .. | .. | .. | <i>Beitîn</i> . |
| 5. Archites .. | .. | .. | <i>'Ain 'Arîk</i> , C. R. C. |
| 6. Japhlites .. | .. | .. | |
| 7. Bethhoron the upper .. | .. | .. | <i>B. Ur el Fôku</i> . |
| 8. Ataroth Adar .. | .. | .. | <i>et Tîreh</i> , C. R. C. |
| 9. Bethhoron the lower .. | .. | .. | <i>B. Ur et Tahta</i> . |
| 10. Gezer .. | .. | .. | |
| 11. Asher-ham-Michmethah .. | .. | .. | <i>Sh. es Sîreh</i> , C. R. C. |
| 12. En Tappuah .. | .. | .. | <i>Atûf</i> . |
| 13. Taanath Shiloh .. | .. | .. | <i>Thala</i> , C. R. C. |
| 14. Janohah .. | .. | .. | <i>Y'anûn</i> . |
| 15. Ataroth .. | .. | .. | <i>Tell et Trûni</i> , C. R. C. |
| 16. Naarath .. | .. | .. | <i>Kh. el 'Aûjeh</i> , C. R. C. |
| 17. Brook Kanah .. | .. | .. | <i>Wâdy Kânah</i> . |

C. R. C.

NOB.

JEROME says that the ruins of Nob were visible from Diospolis of Lydda. A better acquaintance with the Holy Land in recent years has shown that the statement must be incorrect.

Nob is mentioned in three passages in the Bible—1 Sam. xxi., &c.; Neh. xi. 32; Isa. x. 32. From the last place it is evident that it was on the way from Geba to Jerusalem—*i.e.*, in the land of Benjamin.

It is called (1 Sam. xxii. 19) "the city of the priests." This would seem to mean "the city of the priests who were slain," and further, since Nob was entirely desolated by Saul, and burnt, as Josephus adds, a city specially appropriated to them.

So far no difference of opinion seems to exist.

In Joshua xxi. 4 it is said that thirteen cities were allotted to the children of Aaron—*i.e.*, to the priests. In case, then, of Nob being one of these, the question of its position is brought within a very narrow limit, if not virtually settled.

Josephus, himself a priest, seems to assert without hesitation that Nob was one of the cities set apart by divine command (under Joshua) for the priests, since, in moralising about Saul, he speaks of his "overthrowing the city which God had chosen for the property and for the support of the priests." (Whiston. For the remainder of the passage see below, Addenda 5.)

This language is apparently as plain and precise as could be desired, but it is not stronger than is warranted by fact so far as concerns Levitical cities, for their number was fixed at forty-eight by *divine command* (Numb. xxxv. 7), and the particular cities were given by *lot* at Shiloh (Joshua xxi. 2; but see also Jos. Ant. v. 1. 24). This language, however, is utterly without meaning if Nob was neither one of the forty-eight cities originally selected nor situated within the confined limits of their suburbs.

Admit the testimony of Josephus, and the question is at once settled in favour of Nob being one of the thirteen priestly cities (Josh. xxi.).

No hesitation should be felt in accepting this conclusion merely because the name of Nob is not given to any of these cities, for it was no uncommon thing for a city to have more than one name (*e.g.*, Hebron and Kirjath-jearim).

It has been suggested, however, that Nob was either added to the forty-eight Levitical cities or substituted in the place of one of them. This view must be examined, for if one instance of such addition or substitution can be clearly proved, then the expression, "the city of the priests," certainly, and the words of Josephus perhaps just possibly, cannot be used as an argument that Nob was one of the thirteen priestly cities so assigned under Joshua.

I have failed to find any evidence adduced in favour of either of these suggestions.

On the other hand, it would seem absurd to expect to be able to demonstrate that no addition or substitution was ever made in regard to the original forty-eight Levitical cities.

Certain evidence, however, on the point at issue is forthcoming. There is a second list of Levitical cities in 1 Chronicles vi. dating after the captivity. There is much that points to its being a parallel list to that in Joshua.

That the total number of cities is given at forty-eight seems to me at once to dispose of the question of any addition having been made to the original forty-eight cities.

But though the totals of the two lists agree, the list of names in Chronicles is defective.

A comparison of the lists shows this result (see Paper A below):—

<i>Joshua.</i>		<i>Chronicles.</i>	
Names of cities given	48	Names of cities wanting.....	6
		„ same as in Joshua, or with	
		difference admitting of	
		explanation	38
		„ entirely different (appa-	
		rently)	4
	—		—
	48		48

It is remarkable that the only difference in the order of the names in the two lists exists in regard to the cities in Benjamin—viz., in Joshua Anathoth precedes, and in Chronicles follows, Almon or Alemeth.

When it is borne in mind that the text of the Chronicles is very corrupt, that certain known cities had actually two names, that the four exceptions (Kishon, Helkath, Kartah, Dimnah) were in Galilee, where there was a great mixture of nationalities, four unexplained discrepancies will hardly be taken as sufficient to disturb the probable identity of the two lists. Further, while Levites and even priests seem to have been settlers in other tribes than those among which their respective cities were situated, we have, I believe, conclusive evidence—

1st. That to the priests there never were assigned special cities within what became the limits of the kingdom of Israel. For on the division the kingdom (2 Chron. xi. 13, 14) “the priests and the Levites that were in all Israel resorted to him (Rehoboam) out of all their coasts. For the Levites left their suburbs and their possessions and came to Judah and Jerusalem; for Jeroboam and his sons had cast them off from executing the priest’s office unto the Lord.”

The priests are not here said to have left their suburbs, and with reason, since they had not any to leave in Jeroboam’s kingdom, according to the original institution.

But a passage in Joshua (xxiv. 33, &c., LXX.) seems at first sight to

assert an instance of a perpetual possession being assigned to a priest in the tribe of Ephraim outside the limits of the special inheritances :

“They buried Eleazar in a hill that pertained to Phinehas his son, which was given him in Mount Ephraim.”

But if this had been an inheritance appertaining to a *priestly* family, why is no mention of it made in the above passage in 2 Chronicles xi. 13, 14?

What thus antecedently would seem to be an exception to is rather a confirmation of the above (the 1st) proposition.

2nd. That to the Levites there never were assigned special cities within the tribes in which the thirteen original priestly cities were situated (2 Chron. xxxi. 19, Auth. Vers.; also 15 verse).

“Also of the sons of Aaron the priests, which were in the fields of the suburbs of their cities, in every several city, the men that were expressed by name, to give portions to all the males among the priests, and to all that were reckoned by genealogies among the Levites.”

Here nothing is said about the *cities* of the Levites. But if there had been any precedent for giving additional cities to the tribe of Levi, surely the time for thus acting would have been when the Levites forsook their possessions and flocked in a body to support Rehoboam; and some trace of such an assignment ought to appear in this passage.

Nehemiah xi. 3 and 20 perhaps, at first sight, seem to tell the other way, but I think not really, for while Lev. xxv. 32-34 preserved the original possessions of the Levites, there was no regulation laid down to prevent their acquiring and holding as an inheritance houses in a walled city, as Samuel apparently did.

So also 1 Chron. ix. 2 is to be explained. Clearly Neh. xii. 28, 29, and 1 Chron. ix. 16, prove only residence on the part of the Levites, and not specially assigned dwelling-places allotted to them, and this, too, at a date after the return from the captivity (1 Chron. ix. 3).

May not a wide dispersion of the Levites be contemplated in the repeated expressions in Deuteronomy, “The Levite that is within thy gates”? just as it seems to be confirmed by Judges xvii. 7; xix. 1; 1 Sam. i. 1; vii. 1, Abinadab being a Levite, according to Josephus, and much later, 2 Chron. xxiii. 2.

Even Shiloh does not seem to have been specially allotted to the tribe of Levi, and when David brought the ark to Jerusalem there is no indication that he assigned lands to Abiathar and the Levites (1 Chron. xvi. 5, 6, 37).

The case then may be summed up thus:—

1. Josephus regarded Nob as one of the thirteen priestly cities.
2. The difference between the two lists of Levitical cities in Joshua and Chronicles is such (of so slight and uncertain a character) that no argument for the diversity of the cities can be based upon it.
3. We find the original regulations in regard to the forty-eight Levitical cities strictly observed in these two respects:—

1. No special cities in the ten tribes were, up to the time of Rehoboam, ever allotted to the *priests* as their peculiar property, although the ark was for a long time at Shiloh in the tribe of Ephraim.

2. No special cities (so far as we know) were ever peculiarly allotted to the Levites in the kingdom of Judah, although there were special circumstances favourable to such an allotment being made, if allowable.

It seems, then, reasonable and fair to conclude that the rest of the regulations in regard to the Levitical cities were strictly observed—*i.e.*, that the tribe of Levi never had any city appropriated to itself other than the forty-eight originally given, and that, therefore, Nob was one of the thirteen priestly cities named in Joshua, just as Josephus distinctly states.

From Isaiah x. 32, Nob was evidently in Benjamin, and so one of the four priestly cities—Gibeon, Geba, Anathoth, Almon.

As the second and third are also mentioned in the above passage, the final choice lies between Gibeon and Almon.

The argument (attempted above) must now prove a hopeless dilemma if the conditions under which Nob is mentioned in the Bible are not satisfied by the situation of one of these two places.

Major Wilson (*Quarterly Statement*, 1875, p. 95) gives reasons for rejecting Gibeon. It remains therefore that Almon or (Chronicles) Alemeth is the city Nob under another name.

The name Almon or Alemeth, as obviously applied to a place, is only found in the two lists of Levitical cities, and happily there seems to be no question about its identification.

One mile north-east from Anathoth (Anàta) is a ruin marked Almit on Van de Velde's map.

Dr. Porter says, "Descending from Anathoth into a bleak valley, we see on a hill on the right a ruin called Almit, the ancient Alemeth or Almon, a city of Benjamin."

It remains now to submit this site to the ordeal supplied by the requirements of the three passages in which Nob is mentioned.

1st. It is mentioned in the flight of David (1 Sam. xxi., &c.). Almit is not much more than two miles east of Tuleil el Fûl (generally taken to be Gibeah); but since David manifestly went to Nob to consult the priest, as the story shows, the question is not one of a few miles in any direction.

A curious coincidence may be mentioned here, even though there be nothing in it. David, to quiet Ahimelech's alarm at not seeing any attendants with him, replies that Saul had commanded him saying, "Let no man know anything of the business . . . and I have appointed my servants to such and such a place."

LXX. ἐν τῇ τόπῳ τῇ λεγομένῳ θεοῦ πίστις φελωνί Ἀλμωνί.

It is odd that the word Ἀλμωνί, Almon (however explained), should

turn up in this place, when it is sought to show that Nob itself was Almon. From the New Testament we learn that David actually had attendants with him, though they kept out of the priest's sight. (Perhaps there was not so much of falsehood in what David said as is generally supposed.)

The command of Solomon to Abiathar (1 Kings ii. 26, and Josephus), "Get thee to Anathoth, unto thine own fields," would seem to show that the inheritance of Abiathar was in that priestly city. Could the contiguity of the two places (Anathoth and Almon—*i.e.*, Nob) in any way explain the circumstance that on a Sabbath day the only food Ahimelech had within reach was the shew-bread just removed from the table?

Indeed the two places were so close to one another that their Levitical boundaries must have almost touched, if not intersected, so that after the destruction of Nob its lands might have been said to be at Anathoth.

2nd. It is named in the march of Sennacherib (Isaiah x. 28-32) in a passage on which the present Survey will probably throw much light.

He comes to Ai, passes through Migron,
At Michmach deposits his baggage;
They cross the pass, Geba is our night station;
Terrified is Ramah, Gibeah of Saul flees.
Shriek with thy voice, daughter of Gallim;
Listen, O Laish! Ah! poor Anathoth!
Madmenah escapes, dwellers in Gebim take flight.
Yet this day he halts at Nob:
He shakes his hand against the mount, Daughter of Sion,
The hill of Jerusalem.

(*Dictionary of the Bible*, Art. Nob.)

The great king, instead of advancing to Jerusalem by the easier road past Beeroth (Birch), here first is found or comes into sight at Ai, and passes on (through or) to Migron, or the precipice (no place would seem so well to answer this description as the broken cliff on the north side of the passage of Michmash, and then the south cliff might well be the Migron of 1 Sam. xiv. 2, the two making the rocks Bozez and Seneh. See Lieutenant Kitchener's photograph), to secure for himself as a base for operations Michmash, a position of advantage, as being the centre of a fruitful district (*Quarterly Statement*, 1876, p. 125, and 1 Sam. xiii. 17), and of great strength (held by Saul, 1 Sam. xiii. 2; by the Philistines, *id.* 5; and the residence of Jonathan, Jos. Antiq. xiii. 1. 6, and 1 Maccab. ix. 73). Here then he lays up his baggage, crosses the great ravine by a short march to Geba, where he encamps for the night. The next day he continues his advance upon

Jerusalem by the road past Anathoth, but abruptly, after a very short stage, turns aside a little out of the way to Almon—*i.e.*, Nob.

This slow advance may have been due to the pestilential distemper from which (Josephus says) Sennacherib found his army suffering.

Isaiah's description seems to be worked up to set forth in the strongest light the greatness of the catastrophe, being equivalent to

He has occupied the strongest position,
Crossed the most difficult ravine,
Seized the fortress of the northern frontier,
Penetrated to a very secluded spot in the country,
Threatens to destroy Jerusalem;
And then himself is suddenly overthrown.

NOTE 1. Perhaps the mention of Nob, recalling the memory of its former total destruction, is meant to be ominous of Sennacherib's approaching overthrow, and to encourage confidence in the fulfilment of the second terrible prophecy by the recollection of the first.

NOTE 2. It seems possible (see below, Addenda 4b) that Nob was near the road to Jericho, and so commanded the road eastward as well as northward.

The words in Isaiah xiv. 25, "Upon my *mountains* tread him under foot," would seem to indicate that Sennacherib's disaster took place in the mountainous district of Judæa.

Josephus says, "On the very first day of the siege" (*i.e.*, of Jerusalem), but it is a question how far this statement is consistent with 2 Kings xix. 32 :

"Therefore thus saith the Lord concerning the King of Assyria, He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there, nor come before it with shield, nor cast a bank against it. By the way that he came, by the same shall he return."

Is it necessary, however, to understand that Sennacherib's army was destroyed at Nob, or that even from that place he was to shake his hand against the mount of the daughter of Sion?

A further examination of the passage (Isa. x. 28-32) will perhaps show that it is not less worthy of an accurate topographer than of an inspired prophet.

It is highly probable, if not certain, that the places are named in consecutive order as they would be thought of by, if not rather actually visible to, an observer on the look-out from Geba.

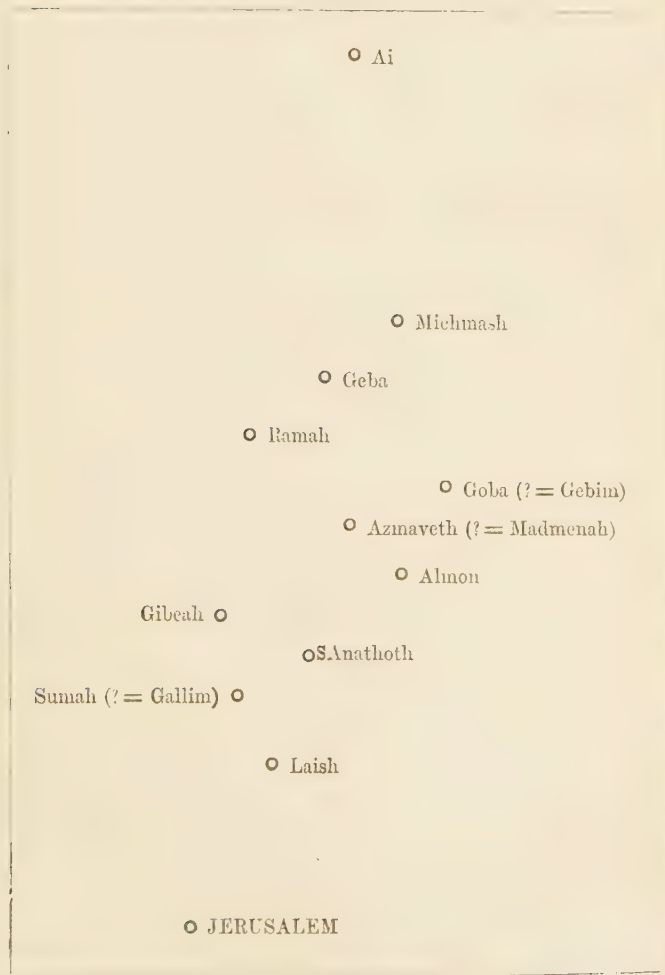
First, looking north, he sees the invader rushing down from the heights of Ai, marching through (or on to) Migron, occupying Michmash, crossing the ravine and ascending to Geba.

The next morning (as has been said) dawns upon a terror-stricken neighbourhood. The spectator faces southwards towards Jerusalem, and, beginning from the right (as in the view of Moses from Pisgah), he sees in thought, or in reality, and probably in the very order

specified, all the cities named—viz., Ramah, Gibeah, Gallim, Laish, Anathoth, Madmenah, and Gebim. Nob also is probably in sight (and, perhaps, just possibly Jerusalem itself).

The accompanying tracing from Van de Velde's map shows the relative position of the above places, so far as they are known for certain, and always supposing that map to be correct. The new map of the Fund will settle the positions conclusively.

[NORTH.]



Places mentioned Isaiah x. 28-32, and seen in the panorama from Geba:

	Modern name.			Situated on
At.....	Et Tel	—	Is visible from Geba ...	Hill.
Migron ...	—	Not identified, but if a district, near the passage of Michmash	“ “	Hill.
Michmash..	Mukhmas	—	“ “	Hill.
Geba	Jeba	—	—	Hill.
Ramah.....	Er Ram	Not visible from Geba according to Murray's guide book, but	Not visible.	Hill.
Gibeah.....	Tuleil el Ful	—	Is visible from Geba ...	Hill.
Gallim.....	?Sûmah or Khirbet el Somâ	Named in Captain Warren's letters, page 19. Lt. C. R. Conder. Possibly the same place	{ Is probably visible from Geba	Hill.
Laiish	Utsawiyeh	Lt. C. R. C. in a valley (perhaps ruins also on a hill) in either case	{ May be visible from Geba	
Anathoth	Anâta	(I believe)	Is visible from Geba ...	Hill.
Madmenah |	—	Not identified ?=Hizme, <i>i.e.</i> Azmayeth — which, as required, is to the left of Anathoth, or some other ruin thereabouts	{ Is probably visible from Geba	Hill.
Gebim	—	Not identified (in this locality), but almost so by Capt. Warren (Letters, p. 29), who mentions “a high hill S.E. of Geba (in the position required), which may have been one of the ancient Gibeahs or Gibeons”	{ Must be visible from Geba	Hill.
Nob	Almit	—	Must also, I believe, be visible from Geba.	Hill.

But Jerusalem (?) can hardly be visible from Geba.

If all the places named Ramah-Gibeah . . . Gebim were visible from Geba, it might seem that Nob also might consistently be expected to be visible.

It is said that nine ruined towns are visible from Geba. A careful examination of the prospect from the spot would probably, according to the above theory, settle the doubtful or unknown sites here mentioned.

I hardly think that any part of Jerusalem can be visible from Almit (though this point can only be finally settled by a careful observer), so that the condition that “Sion should be visible from Nob,” can scarcely, I imagine, be fulfilled by the proposed identification.

This condition, however, though very desirable, is not (so far as I can see) absolutely required, or necessarily involved in the words, “he shall shake his hand against the daughter of Sion,” which may be only a very significant expression for threatening Jerusalem with destruction.

It is stated that the Rabbins assert that Jerusalem might be seen from Nob; but, on the other hand, D. Kimchi says his father took it for Jerusalem (on 1 Sam. xxi. 1).

3rd. Nob is mentioned in Neh. xi. 32 next to Anathoth, agreeably to what is stated above, that Almit is in close proximity to Anata. (See Paper B.)

ADDENDA.

In conclusion, a few points of doubtful value may be briefly touched upon:—

1. Among David's warriors were men from several cities in Benjamin—viz., Gibeon, Gibeah, Azmaveth, Anathoth, Rama, Beeroth, and Bahurim, but none are mentioned from Almon, which was likely to be the case if Almon was Nob, all of whose inhabitants, except Abiathar, were slain by Doeg the Edomite; though, of course, it is not necessary that every native of Nob should have been in Nob at the time so as to be slain. (See below, § 4.)

2. Can the remarkable tombs or peculiar constructions (*Quarterly Statement*, 1874, p. 78) a mile north of Almit, called generally Kabur Beni Israil or Kabur el Amalikeh, mark the spot where the massacred priests or people were buried, and by these interchanging names preserve the memory of the victims and instrument of Saul's frenzy, for Doeg the Edomite might perhaps be an Amalekite. The number of priests slain (A. V. 85; LXX. 305; Josephus, 385) shows that with all the inhabitants of Nob included, a great multitude of persons must have been slain, and that Nob itself was therefore a considerable place.

3. I think from Paper A it will be seen that we might fairly expect to find the Levitical cities among the tribal cities. Can the city of Benjamin called (Josh. xviii. 24) Cephar-Aammonai represent the city Almon? Cephar = Kefr or village, just as we have Beth-azmaveth, or simply Azmaveth.

4. The Targum says Bahurim (2 Sam. xvi. 5) was the same as Almon. Bahurim still defies identification, and the question is too wide to be discussed here, but it may be mentioned that—

- a. David went past the top of the hill (*i.e.*, Mount of Olives), and one road to Anathoth still crosses the same ridge.

- b. "There are two Roman roads to Jericho, one near El Isawiye and one by Bethany" (Lt. C. R. Conder); perhaps the former, farther on, passes near Almit.

- c. The same road to Anathoth would probably bring David nearer to Saul's estates, so that Ziba would more easily meet him.

- d. The above road by Anathoth (if continued, as supposed) would also bring Phalti to Bahurim (= Almon) on the direct way to his home at Laish (2 Sam. iii. 16).

- e. The words (2 Sam. xvii. 20), "They be gone over the brook of water," are of doubtful meaning; but possibly might apply to Wady Farah or W. Suweinit.

5. This point is suggested by the remainder of the passage quoted from Josephus, Ant. vi. 12. 7, which perhaps ought not to be kept out of sight, lest it should seem to have been purposely suppressed, because by the novelty of its statement it might appear to throw discredit on the previous part of the sentence. The words quoted already are, "over-

throwing the city which God had chosen for the property and for the support of the priests" (the remaining words are) "and prophets which were there, and had ordained as the only city allotted for the education of such men."

The instant objection is obvious—viz., that we do not know of any particular cities being allotted to the prophets.

But, then, what is meant by "prophets"?

We learn this from a comparison of 1 Sam. x. 5,

"Thou shalt meet a company of *prophets* coming down from the high places with a *psaltery*, and a *tabret*, and a *pipe*, and a *harp*, before them; and they shall prophesy,"

with 1 Chron. xxv. 1, 2, 3, 6,

"David separated to the service of the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who should *prophesy* with *harps*, and *psalteries*, and *cymbals*."

"The sons of Asaph which *prophesied* according to the order of the king."

"The sons of Jeduthun who *prophesied* with a *harp*."

All these were of the tribe of Levi receiving their appropriate work. Why should the prophets mentioned by Josephus be different? Why should musical instruments not be used in the service of the tabernacle before the time of David?

It seems, then, that there is no reason for thinking that Josephus makes his assertion without any warrant.

But if one had to show that Nob was famous for the education of such men (*i.e.*, men skilled in sacred music), something might perhaps be built upon the baffling expressions, "With psalteries on *Alamoth*" (= Alemeth = Almon), 1 Chron. xv. 20; "A song upon *Alamoth*" (Title, Psalm xlv.).

W. F. BIRCH.

NOTE ON THE ABOVE.

The country in question consists of a series of parallel ridges of about equal height. The view from Tell el Fûl is very extensive, including Jerusalem, Anathoth, Hizmeh, Jeb'a (Gibeah of Saul, C. R. C.). Michmash is hidden, and the neighbourhood of Ai and Rimmon is seen. From Anathoth also a good view is obtained of the villages lying north, Hizmeh (Azmaveth) being very conspicuous. Almit is visible from near Anathoth, but Jeb'a is hidden by the Hizmeh ridge. As regards the remainder, Ai (et Tell) is not visible from Jeb'a, nor is Ramah and Laish (L'Isawiyeh), which is hidden behind Anathoth; Almit being directly in line, is hidden from Jeb'a by Hizmeh. The view from Jeb'a is not so good as might be expected, and is especially very confined on the north and north-west. It is certainly impossible to see Jerusalem from 'Almîl or from any place north-east of the Olivet ridge.

The peculiar position of Jerusalem makes it impossible to place Nob near Anathoth, or indeed in any position except near Tell el Fûl, and the only objection to its identification with Sh'afât (a word having a similar meaning) lies in the identifying of Tell el Fûl with Gibeah of Saul, for which no adequate reason has ever been adduced. Placing the latter at Jeb'a the whole question is simplified. See my note, *Quarterly Statement*, 1875, p. 183.

C. R. C.

Levitical Cities.		Joshua xvi.		Joshua.		Tribal Cities.	
		1 Chron. vi.		Chapter.			
Judah and Simeon, 9 :							
Hebron	—	id.	id.	id.	xv. 44	.....	.....
Libnah	—	id.	id.	id.	„ 42	.....	.....
Jattir	—	id.	id.	id.	„ 48	.....	.....
Eshtemoa	—	id.	id.	id.	„ 50	.....	.....
Holon	—	Hilen	Holon	id.	„ 51	.....	.....
Debir	—	id.	id.	id.	„ 49	.....	.....
Ain	—	id.	Ain or Ashan	id.	xix. 7	.....	.....
Juttah	—	Wanting.	id.	id.	xv. 55	.....	.....
Beth-shemesh	—	id.	Ir-Shemesh in Dan.	id.	xix. 41	.....	.....
Benjamin, 4 :							
Gibeon	—	Wanting.	id.	id.	xviii. 25	.....	.....
Geba	—	id.	Gaba	id.	„ 24	.....	.....
Anathoth	—	(2) id.	?	id.	—	.....	.....
Almon	—	(1) Alemeth	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
The above are the priestly cities (= 13).							
Ephraim, 4 :							
Shechem	—	id.	id.	id.	xvi. 3	.....	.....
Gezer	—	id.	id.	id.	.....	.....	.....
Kibzaim	—	Jokmean	id.	id.	.....	.....	.....
Beth-horon	—	id.	id.	id.	xvi. 3 or 5	.....	.....

<i>Dan</i> , 4 :	—	Wanting.	Wanting.	.....	xix. 44	.....
Eltekeh	—	Wanting.	id.	.....	“ ” 44	.....
Gibbethon	—	id.	Ajalon	.....	“ ” 42	.....
Ajalon	—	id.	id.	.....	“ ” 45	.....
Gath-rimmon	—	id.		.....		
<i>Manasseh</i> , 4 :						
Tanach	may=(B.D.)	Aner	Taanach	.....	xvii. 11	.....
Gath-rimmon *	=(B.D.)	Bileam	Ibleam	.....	“ ” 11	.....
Golan	—	id.	{ included in }	.....	xiii. 30	.....
Beeshterah	=	Ashtaroth	“all Bashan”	.....	“ ” 30	.....
			xiii. 30	.....	xiii. 31	.....
<i>Issachar</i> , 4 :			Ashtaroth	.....	xiii. 31	.....
Kishon	?=	Kedesh	Kishion	.....	xix. 20	.....
Dabareh	=	Daberath	{ ? Rabbith	.....	xix. 20	.....
Jarmuth	=(B.D.)	Ramoth	or Daberath	.....	xix. 12	.....
En-gannim	=	Anem	Remeth	.....	xix. 21	.....
			En-gannim	.....	xix. 21	.....
<i>Asher</i> , 4 :						
Mishal	=	Mashal	Misheal	.....	xix. 26	.....
Abdon	—	id.	?=Hebron	.....	xix. 28	.....
Helkath	?=	Hukok	Helkath	.....	xix. 25	.....
Rehob	—	id.	id.	.....	xix. 28	.....
<i>Naphthali</i> , 3 :						
Kedesh	—	id.	id.	.....	xix. 37	.....
Hammoth Dor	=	Hannon	Hammath	.....	xix. 35	.....

* Error of copyist for Ibleam
from Gathrimmon above
in Dan.

{ But how to be explained? in
the great plain.

{ But Daberath mentioned xix.
12 as on the borders of Ze-
bulon.

{ ? Error in transcribing on ac-
count of similarity of letters,

Kartan	=	 Kirjathaim	?=Iron	xix. 38 ..
<i>Zebulun</i> , 4 (2 out of 4 wanting) :				
Jokneam.....	—	(say) Wanting.....	Jokneam	xix. 11
Kartah	?	 Rimmon (or 2) ...	?Remmon-methoar.....	xix. 13
Dimnah	?	 Tabor (or 1)	?Chisloth-tabor	xix. 12 .. { Or Kattath, xix. 15. But "Tabor" simply mentioned as limit, xix. 22.
Nahallal	—	 (say) Wanting ..	Nahallal	xix. 15

Reuben, 4 :

Bezer	—	 id.	{ Included as one of the cities of the } plain. }	xiii. 17
Jahazah	=	 Jahzah	 "	18
Kedemoth	—	 id.	 id.	18
Mephaath	—	 id.	 id.	18

Gad, 4 :

Ramoth Gilead	—	 Ramoth in Gilead ...	Ramath Mizpeh	xix. 26 ..
Mahanaim	—	 id.	 id.	26
Heshbon.....	—	 id.	 id.	26
Jazer	—	 id.	 id.	25

48 cities in all.	In Chronicles, Cities wanting	6
"	" of same name, or difference explainable	38
"	" different altogether apparently—	
	Kishon—Kedesh.	
	Helkath—Hukok.	
	Kartah—Rimmon { or <i>vice versa</i>	4
	Dimnah—Tabor	48

PAPER B.

The only object of this note is to show that Nob (in Neh. xi. 31-35) is not out of its place in being named after Anathoth instead of before it. The consecutive order of the places must only be looked for within certain limits.

Group.	Name.	Modern Name.	Relative Situation represented (roughly).	Direction in which mentioned.
1 {	1. Michmash...	Mukhmas	Bethel	From S.E. to N.W.
	2. Aija = Ai...	Et Tel	· Ai	
	3. Bethel	Beitin	· Michmash	
2 {	1. Anathoth ...	Anâta	· Almit	From S.W. to N.E.
	2. Nob	Almit	· Anathoth	
3 {	1. Ananiah =	Beit Hanina C. R. C.	Hazor	? E. to W.
	2. Hazor =	Khirbet Hazur C. R. C. (<i>Q. S.</i> 1875, p. 183.)		
4 {	1. Ramah	Er Ram		Perhaps points to Gittaim being near Ramah. ? Northward — ? near Beeroth. Inhabitants of Beeroth fled to Gittaim, 2 Sam. iv. 3.
	2. Gittaim	? Unknown		
5 {	1. Hadid	? = El Haditheh	Neballat	S.W. towards N.E.
	2. Zeboim	? Unknown	·	
	3. Neballat ...	Beit Nebala	· Hadid	
6 {	1. Lod	Ludd	· Ono	S. to N. with some W.
	2. Ono	Kefr Auna		
	3. Valley of the Craftsmen	? Unknown	· Lod	

From the above, with one exception (in which case no map has been consulted, No. 3), it would seem that the universal direction of the cities of each group is S. to N., sometimes inclining to W., occasionally to the E.